

JPRS 84977

19 December 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2245

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLES WELCOME DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHING: EAST GERMANS OPPOSE

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 31 Oct 83 p 5

Article by Richard Swartz: "You Must Take Soviet Threat Seriously: Poles Welcome Western Missiles while Pacifism Grows in DDR"

Text If it were up to the Polish people NATO would have no problem placing new missiles in Western Europe. The 572 missiles that are being prepared are considered by the Polish people an insufficient number to face the Soviet threat.

"We do not understand the defeatism of the West and that you allow the peace movement to serve Moscow," says a university professor in Warsaw. His views are typical of the atmosphere among Polish intellectuals and workers in regard to the security matter.

"Do you not understand that the Soviet system constitutes a threat against your freedom? Have you not learned anything from what happened in Afghanistan or what is happening here in our country?"

The Polish people are looking with a mixture of worry and despise at the groups in Western Europe who want to prolong the respite for the Geneva negotiations or who are ready to accept the Soviet proposals for compromising (of the Egon Bahr type).

This is a dangerous "Munich policy" for what probably is a large majority of Polish people: only a firm, militant stand on the part of the West will work on the Russians, is the opinion. And the fight for democratic freedom and rights in Poland is considered the fight for a peaceful Europe--already before the Solidarity period Adam Michnik said that slackening of tension in Europe requires an inner slackening of tension within each European nation.

If that cannot be created the policy for the slackening of tension will turn into a policy of appeasement. Many Polish people interpret the fact that Nobel's peace prize was this year given to Lech Walesa, as an indication that such reasoning is accepted in the West.

"But when it comes down to it, you are too cowardly to turn your conviction into politics," the saying goes in Warsaw. "You want peace and quiet. You

do not care about us, but you do not understand that you are the ones who will be the next ones to follow, if you are not prepared to defend yourselves."

A Steel Bath Is Healing

It is not even uncommon to hear Polish people who are of the opinion that a war in Europe would be the only solution to at least the national problems of Poland: after such a "steel bath" our continent would come out purer and freer. Although we may find such an attitude very far from reality, we should understand that it is deeply rooted, partly as a desperate reaction to the crushing of Solidarity.

The fact is that it is hard to find genuine fear of a nuclear war among the citizens of General Jaruzelski's Poland. No official nor unofficial peace movement is of any importance here, at the same time as the powerful Catholic Church has only half-heartedly discussed the danger of the arms race and a possible nuclear war in Europe.

"Only you Lutherans are struck by an apocalyptic hysteria, says a prominent catholic intellectual to SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Warsaw. Look at France and Italy! People there are also relaxed about it."

"The risk of war is something that people once and for all have to learn to live with, and possibly the truth is that the existence of nuclear weapons in Europe rather cuts down the risk of wars in Europe than increases it."

Scepticism In The East

In other East European countries the population is sceptical; like in Poland, in regard to the peace movement in the West, or what is considered the tendency of the Western European social democracy to minimize Soviet threat. Despite--or maybe because of--the Soviet propaganda in the East, there is a conviction that the SS-20 and the Soviet military power constitute equally serious threats against peace in Europe as the new NATO missiles.

The West with the U.S. in the forefront often becomes synonymous with freedom, the East with lack of freedom and dictatorship. The policies of the Reagan Administration also probably have more sympathizers in Eastern Europe than in Western Europe.

But with the exception of Poland there is also a worry among the people that there would be a new war and maybe mostly a worry about a new "cold" war.

DDR is the political counterpoint to Poland. East German young people are in principle saying the same thing as the West German youth: that it is actually Germany that will become the future battleground for a nuclear war, and that a unilateral disarmament in DDR would be an international signal of common sense in a world that is becoming increasingly crazy.

"Everybody here is scared of the military service," says a student in East Berlin. "I know of nobody who would consider that a patriotic act but just a compulsory participation in something that completely lacks sense. A new war would sweep off everything that we are expected to defend."

Widespread Pacifism

Pacifistic movement like these are strong within the DDR and they often become a reflection of the atmosphere and ideas within the Federal Republic. It seems here as if a common German history and experiences are shaping the attitudes of the population to a greater extent in the peace matter than the fact that the German nation is subject to two diametrically opposite ideological and political systems.

In all contexts it is actually the peace matter that dominates the day-to-day life of the DDR citizens, something that would be impossible in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria or Romania, although the standpoint in these countries is quite far from the "romantic" Polish attitude. The unofficial peace movement--which does not deserve the name "movement"--is also without comparison much stronger here than anywhere else in East Europe.

"But all such peace groups in East Europe are already under repressive pressure and they are also very varied," says a young Hungarian writer in Budapest, who had been working for "Dialogue," the only unofficial peace movement at grass roots level which for a short time managed to accomplish negotiations with the authorities.

Not until direct intervening from Moscow did the Hungarian authorities cancel the decision to let "Dialogue" participate in the spring in the large international peace meeting in West Berlin.

"Do not forget either, that the concept of peace in our country has a somewhat bad ring to it after being monopolized and abused by the party for years," he continues. "But now those who possess power are in a dilemma: It is hard to quiet down young people who say that they are working for the peace that the party has so long made propaganda for."

"Therefore the peace issue here with us in the East often becomes exploited by groups who in a general meaning are critical of society, who are perhaps more interested in fighting the censorship or working for the goal that the citizens' rights be observed. For my part I consider it completely legitimate. The way the conditions now are in our country, the democratic opposition must use all the scenes that are available."

Fear For Isolation

In Hungary the population seems to worry primarily that a new arms race would "close off" Hungary: it is feared that the contacts to the West and the careful but consistent reform policy then would become impossible. The most common reaction among young people is to hold both superpowers responsible for the situation. "Both of them are threatening us," is a repeated comment in

a reasoning that is often based on a diffuse feeling of a European togetherness in destiny that does not include the Soviet Union and the United States.

The peace movement in the West is often considered to, at least indirectly, serve Moscow's interests. Hungarian "dissidents," who in the summer met with West European peace marchers in Budapest, describe these people as honest and sympathetic indeed, but extremely naive and ignorant in regard to the real socialist reality.

Among intellectuals in East Europe often a condescending attitude is found towards the entire Soviet system, whose flaws and inability to function they experience in their own daily life.

"Moscow is always behind," says a Hungarian journalist to the SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

"The Russians are always busy catching up, using all their resources so as not to be left behind by the Americans. This applies also to military matters. What is it really that is so fantastic about those SS-20s that makes you so frightened?

Greater Realism

So the East European people's attitude to the peace matter seems somewhat contradictory: there is greater realism here than in West Europe when the Soviet threat is so clearly taken into account, but there is also a provincial idealism--like in the case of Poland--when the consequences of a future nuclear war are minimized.

Like the East European regimes the East European citizens are mainly afraid of the possibility of a new "cold war" to be the consequence of a new arms race. Those who are in the position of power also know that the peace matter is right now partly functioning as a valve for the people's discontent, but it could tomorrow turn into an explosive matter if Moscow and Washington were not able to curb the armament in Europe.

"The young people here who are now overtly saying that Soviet missiles are as dangerous as American missiles are no longer afraid," says an East European source to the SVENSKA DAGBLADET. They no longer fear the police. And that is something new.

9662

CSO: 3650/43

GREETINGS ON LAO NATIONAL DAY REPORTED

BK021312 Vientiane KPL in English 0938 GMT 2 Dec 83

[Text] Vientiane, 2 Dec (KPL)--A national day greetings from the Bulgarian leaders was sent to Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP [Lao People's Revolutionary Party], chairman of the Council of Ministers and to Souphanouvong, president of the republic and of the People's Supreme Assembly.

The greeting message was jointly sent to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, chairman of the State Council and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria.

In their warm greetings, the Bulgarian leaders said: "The victory of the patriotic Lao scored after having waged long years of struggle for national liberation and independence has opened the path for the realization of radical socioeconomic transformation in Laos.

"The Bulgarian Communists, and workers sincerely rejoice in the success of the Lao people in the development of the fields of economy, and culture along with success in safeguarding the revolutionary fruits such as achievements are possible thanks to the guidance of the LPRP and due to close cooperation among the Lao people, the Soviet Union people and those of other socialist countries."

On Lao foreign policy, the Bulgarian leaders noted: "The People's Republic of Bulgaria holds high esteem for the constant foreign policy of peace of the LPDR aiming for the establishment of relations of good neighbour and comprehension in Southeast Asia.

"We totally support the efforts of the threee Indochinese countries regarding the normalisation of the situation in the region which has been worsened by acts of imperialism and reaction. This is to ascertain peace, security and cooperation in this part of the world."

On the relation between the two countries, the telegram underlined: "We are deeply satisfied with the fruitful development of the relation of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples.

"We are convinced that the enhancement and deepening of these fraternal relations based on Marxist-Leninist principles and socialist internationalism will serve the interests of both people serving the reenforcement of the unity of the socialist countries, rendering strength to common struggle for peace, progress and socialism."

The message finally wished the Lao side to victoriously implement the resolutions of the third party congress in view to lay socialist foundation and for the brilliant future of the Lao people.

Petur Mladenov, foreign minister of Bulgaria, on this occasion, also sent warm greeting message to his Lao counterpart--Phoun Sepaseut.

CSO: 2200/47

AGRICULTURAL SUCCESSES REPORTED AT CONFERENCE

AU011423 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 1 Dec 83

[Text] Sofia, 1 Dec (BTA)--"Over the past three years of the Eighth Five-Year Period (1981-1983), in spite of the whim of nature, the Bulgarian agriculture and the food industry continued to develop at accelerated rates" Mr Aleksandur Petkov, the chairman of the Central Council of the National Agro-Industrial Union told the National Conference on Problems of Agriculture.

The full text of the report of Mr Petkov has been published in today's issue of KOOPERATIVNO SELO.

It is stressed in the report that compared with the average annual level of the Seventh Five-Year Period the output of grain has been increased by 16.3 percent, of meat by 9.2 percent, of milk by 16 percent, and of eggs by 13.7 percent. The output of grapes, apples, sunflower and cotton, too, has risen. The average annual volume of farm produce in comparison with 1980 has risen by 10.6 percent, of the net production by 14 percent and of the balance profit by 61.4 percent.

In the food industry a rise of 10.1 percent for the commodity production, of 20.8 percent for the pure production and of 31 percent for the profit was achieved in 1983 in comparison with 1980.

The population's demands of the basic foods were met.

Mr Aleksandur Petkov points out also some problems still existing in agriculture. In the three years of the five-year period grain, sunflower, sugar beets, tomatoes, tobacco and other products were delivered to the state in quantities smaller than planned.

The bulk profits are increasing in general, but in case of some major farm products the negative trend of prime cost growing continues.

Mr Aleksandur Petkov drew the following conclusions from the results obtained in the course of the past three years. Agriculture and the food industry continue to develop along the road of intensification, the results are short of the real possibilities, preconditions have been created for a qualitative turn in the next two years.

Mr Petkov also outlined the key tasks in the 1984-1985 period. A 14.2 percent growth in grain production should be ensured. The purchase growth in livestock breeding related to its average value for the past three years should be 9.0 percent for meat, 9.2 percent for milk and 9.3 percent for eggs. In the entire five-year period the total farm production should increase by 18.1 percent, and that of the food industry by 21.6 percent. Labour productivity should go up by 02.6 percent [as printed], and the gross profit by 140.2 percent. In order to fulfil these tasks in the next two years, 42 percent of the total production should be turned out and realized, as well as 50 percent of the gross profit.

Mr Aleksandur Petkov points out three major trends in the future work of the National Agro-Industrial Union: A more thorough use of the possibilities for specialization, a quick practical transfer of the latest techno-scientific achievements, and a sharp improvement of the quality of production.

CSO: 2200/47

BULGARIA

MAURITANIA'S HAYDALA PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT

Met by Zhirkov

AU191527 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 19 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, Nov 19 (BTA)--Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of Mauritania, arrived here today. He will pay a three-day official and friendly visit here at the invitation of the Bulgarian State Council president, Mr Todor Zhivkov.

At the airport of Sofia the guest was welcomed by Mr Todor Zhivkov and other party and state officials.

Full state honours were accorded to Mr Haydala. Today Lt-Col Mohamed Haydala will have talks with Mr Todor Zhivkov. It is expected that at the official dinner today the two leaders will deliver toast speeches.

Talks Begin in Sofia

AU192002 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 19 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, 19 Nov (BTA)--Bulgaro-Mauritanian relations are developing upon the foundations of friendship and mutual interest--this was the categorical assessment with which the heads of state of the two countries, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Lt Col Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, began their official talks here today.

The main topic of the talks are the chances for the development of political, economic and cultural relations between Bulgaria and Mauritania.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Lt Col Mohamed Haydala exchanged views also on a wide range of international issues. They said they stood against the arms race, and in favor of disarmament, in favour of easing international tensions, and the preservation of peace.

The Bulgarian party to the talks included the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Petur Mladenov; the minister of power generation, Mr Nikola Todoriev; the minister of mechanical engineering, Mr Toncho Chakurov; and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Agro-Industrial Union, Mr Aledsandur Petkov.

The Mauritanian party to the talks include the minister of industry and the mining industry, Mr Anne Amadou Babaly, deputy minister of fisheries and the sea economy, Mr Mohamed Llomin Ould Ndyayan [spelling as received], the minister of planning and welfare, Mr Ahmed Ould Zain and other officials.

Tomorrow the talks will continue.

Zhivkov Dinner Toast

AU220738 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Nov 83 p 2

[Toast by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, at 19 November Sofia official dinner for Mauritanian President Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania,

Esteemed Mauritanian guests:

Once again I greet you cordially on behalf of the State Council, the attending Bulgarian officials, and on my own behalf. I am glad that you accepted our invitation to visit the People's Republic of Bulgaria, because your visit affords us the opportunity to establish personal contact, discuss our countries' friendly relations, and exchange opinions on the topical issues of our time.

Your Excellency,

First of all I would like to express my satisfaction with our sincere and interesting talks which began today. You and I expressed our common willingness to further develop the existing relations between Bulgaria and Mauritania. At our analysis we noted there are appropriate ways of expanding our relations in the political, economic, and cultural areas. This undoubtedly will be in the two peoples' interests, and thus our closer cooperation will be our modest contribution to the efforts to improve the international situation.

I would like to point out again, esteemed Mr Haydala, that we shall do everything within our possibilities to expand and strengthen the friendly relations between our states and peoples. I must point out that one of our motivations is our sincere sympathy for the people of Mauritania, our understanding of the variety of complex problems that you are facing, and our satisfaction with the fact that joint efforts to solve them proved successful.

Your Excellency,

Our talks are taking place in a friendly atmosphere, which is a result of our readiness to cooperate, and of coincidence of our opinions on various international issues. I would add--they are taking place not only in a friendly atmosphere, but in a warm and friendly atmosphere. Outside, however, is rather cold, and I do not mean the forthcoming winter. I mean the international situation, which is extremely complex, contradictory, and dangerous. Peace

and the very existence of mankind are jeopardized. This danger evokes justifiable concern in hundreds of millions of people. It comes from the untamed militaristic and hegemonist course of the most aggressive imperialist forces, and first of all the United States and NATO. They are the ones promoting a policy of arms race, and first of all a nuclear arms race, and the ones who are trying to violate the established military-strategic parity in their favor. Especially dangerous in this aspect is the decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, something which will increase many times the danger of a nuclear conflict in Europe and the world. It is not by accident that I am saying "in the world," because today there cannot be a limited nuclear war--it will inevitably develop into a world nuclear conflict. Every sensible man understands that the nuclear weapon is blind. It does not distinguish between state borders and neutral countries. There are no insurmountable distances for it. A nuclear conflict will turn our beautiful planet into a dead planet. This compels us to do everything possible to stop the arms race, save peace, and revive the process of detente.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and its allies from the Warsaw Pact are steadily conducting their consistent and constructive peaceful policy, and constantly make their contribution to the people's common struggle for strengthening peace. You, esteemed Mr Haydala, know very well the numerous peaceful initiatives and proposals of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community, which are an expression of our sincere concern for the destiny of mankind. I will not review them in detail, and would only like to note: With political realism and a sense of responsibility we propose that the complex problems of disarmament be solved upon the principles of equality and equal security. Only if these principles are observed we can reach real results at the Geneva talks and at other disarmament forums, which are vitally important for all mankind.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is conducting a peace-loving foreign policy. As evidence I would like to point at the development of goodneighborly relations with our Balkan neighbors, and the proposal on turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

While discussing the international situation we, Mr Haydala, noted with special concern the tense and dangerous Middle Eastern situation, which jeopardizes not only the region but the entire world. The Bulgarian people and its government sharply denounce the aggressive actions of Zionism against the Arab people of Palestine and against other Arab countries, including Lebanon. We also condemn the imperialist forces backing Israel.

I would like once again to stress our position. There can be a comprehensive lasting and just solution of the Middle Eastern conflict only after the immediate and total withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and afterwards, including the eastern part of Jerusalem, recognizing the legal rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to form its own independent state; and guaranteeing the right to independent existence and development to all states in the region. We support the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO--the only legal representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has repeatedly expressed its concern with the continuing Western Sahara conflict, a hotbed of tension to the detriment of the region's countries. We are for solving this conflict through peaceful means, while respecting the right of the people living on that territory to self-determination, in accordance with the UN and OAU resolutions.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria expresses its solidarity with and support for the Nonaligned Movement and the OAU, which are conducting active struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid; they are also conducting a struggle for peace and social progress, for the sovereign right of the peoples alone to dispose of their national wealth, and for establishing new and just international economic relations.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is for stopping the armed aggression of the racist South African regime against Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho; it recognizes Namibia's right to independence, and will continue to support SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]--the only legal representative of the people of Namibia.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria condemns the U.S. threats, blackmail, and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states such as Cuba, Nicaragua, and others, and condemns the U.S. aggression against Grenada--a new rude violation of international norms and the UN Charter.

Esteemed Mr Chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation,

I would like to express our firm conviction that your visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the fruitful talks we had will contribute to expanding and activating our bilateral relations and will facilitate the strengthening of our mutually beneficial cooperation, in the name of friendship, social progress, and our peoples' prosperity.

From the bottom of my heart I wish the Islamic Republic of Mauritania new successes!

From the bottom of my heart I wish our respected guest, Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, health, successes, and happiness!

Let Bulgarian-Mauritanian friendship and cooperation develop and strengthen!

Let there be a lasting and just peace throughout the world.

Haydala Toast

AU192111 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 19 Nov 83

[Report on speech given by Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, president of Mauritania, at 19 November Sofia dinner]

[Excerpt] Sofia, Nov 19 (BTA)--In his speech the chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of Mauritania, Mr Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala stressed that "wonderful relations of friendship and mutual respect" bind Bulgaria and Mauritania.

He expressed readiness to intensify and further the relations between the two countries.

Mr Haydala dwelt also with the situation in some hotbeds of tension in the world. He stressed that the restoration of the lawful rights of the people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the foundation of a state of their own is the sole way of achieving peace in the Middle East. The postponement of the pullout of the Israeli troops from Lebanon can dangerously complicate the situation.

The South African Republic, he said, is seeking to thwart the achievement of independence and sovereignty nor [as received] Namibia by expanding its hostile actions against other countries on the continent as well. Haydala stressed the need of implementing the resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations on Namibia. The South African Republic must put an end to the regime of apartheid against the majority of the population in the country, and to the aggression against the "frontline states."

The Mauritanian leader spoke in favour of starting direct negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front and in favour of organizing a referendum on self-determination without administrative or military restrictions.

Mr Mohamed Haydala stressed that his visit to Bulgaria will mark a turn in the relations between the two countries, that it will open up wide vistas for mutually advantageous cooperation.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 2000 GMT on 19 November carries a report on the dinner and adds the following: "Orish Filipov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairmen of the State Council, ministers, deputy ministers, the officials accompanying the Mauritanian guest, and the ambassadors of the two countries attended the dinner."]

Haydala Praises Relations, Friendship

AU202030 Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 20 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, 20 Nov (BTA)--The chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of Mauritania, Mr Mohamed Haydala, told Bulgarian journalists today that Bulgaro-Mauritanian relations are excellent, though they haven't yet reached the level corresponding to the possibilities of the two countries.

He said that very good opportunities do exist for the development of commercial and economic relations: trade, cooperation in the sphere of industry, agriculture and hydromelioration, in the exchanges of scientific research and the training of cadres.

Mr Mohamed Haydala expressed conviction that his visit to Bulgaria will contribute to the better development of Bulgaro-Mauritanian relations. "The expansion of cooperation will strengthen our friendship" he said.

Zhivkov, Haydala End Talks

AU202031 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 83

[Text] On 20 November Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, and Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, president of Mauritania, visited Sofia's Nikola Pushkarov Soil Research and Crop Planning Institute. Docent Lyuben Glogov briefed the guest on our country's successes, and stressed that Bulgaria's agricultural production has increased by 2.4 times over the past 25 years. He also spoke about the institute's structure and history and about its relations with more than 60 states. Noting Bulgaria's agricultural successes, Mr Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala evinced interest in the possibility of agricultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Mauritania.

The guests also visited and reviewed the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture.

The concluding talks between Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, and Lt Col Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, Mauritanian head of state, were held this afternoon at the Boyana Palace. Further willingness to strengthen and expand relations in various areas was confirmed. The two also expressed concern over the tense international situation and stressed the need to strengthen the unity of action in the struggle for peace.

CSO: 2200/47

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES DPRK OFFICIAL--On 17 November Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Kong Chin-tae, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and vice premier of the DPRK, who is participating in the 13th session of the Bulgaria-DPRK Intergovernmental Consultative Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Issues. Comrade Todor Zhivkov highly evaluated the development of the economic and scientific-technical relations between the two countries and stressed the need to strengthen and expand them in new economic spheres, most importantly in industrial production-sharing. Our first party and state leader expressed the solidarity of the BCP, Bulgaria, and the entire Bulgarian people with the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic unification of their country. Kong Chin-tae was also received by Comrade Grisha Filipov. [Text] [AU172004 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Nov 83] Kong Chin-tae, Politburo candidate member of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and vice premier of the DPRK, departed our country on 18 November. He participated in the work of the 13th session of the Bulgarian-DPRK Intergovernmental Consultative Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Questions. The guest was seen off at Sofia Airport by Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of domestic trade and by other Bulgarian officials. The two countries ambassadors, Vasil Khubchev and Ha Tong-yun, were also among those present at the airport. [Text] [AU221305 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Nov 83 p 2]

SOLIDARITY GREETINGS TO PLO--On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine the Fatherland Front National Council has sent a telegram to the PLO Executive Committee. On behalf of millions of Fatherland Front members the most cordial and sincere greetings are being conveyed to all members and supporters of the Palestinian resistance movement. The telegram points out that the restoration of unity within the framework of the PLO and the consolidation of unity of action with the Arab states and with all progressive forces in the world will successfully resolve the achievement of just and durable peace and will contribute to the implementation of the legitimate striving of the Arab people of Palestine to have their own and independent state. The Committee for Solidarity With Peoples of Asia and Africa has sent a telegram to the PLO Executive Committee as well. The telegram states that the Bulgarian public sincerely and firmly supports the just struggle waged by the Arab people of Palestine in achieving their irrevocable rights, including their right of self-determination and of establishing their own, independent state on the Palestinian territory, under the leadership of their vanguard and only legitimate representative--the PLO. [Text] [AU292236 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 83]

FILIPOV ADDRESSES FOOD MEETING--Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)--A national meeting was held today at the "Lyudmila Zhivkova" People's Palace of Culture with the active party, state, economic and public figures in Bulgaria. The meeting was organized by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the BCP and Bulgaria's Council of Ministers. It was opened and presided over by Mr Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers. Mr Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the Central Council of the National Agro-Industrial Union, read out a paper on the fuller and all-round transfer of the techno-scientific progress and the economic approach into practice in agriculture and the food industry. A final speech was delivered by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council. [Text] [AU291438 Sofia BTA in English 1333 GMT 29 Nov 83]

DYULGEROV MEETS TU OFFICIALS--Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Union, has visited the Sofia Okrug. He became acquainted with the Sofia Okrug Trade Union Council's Bureau where he was briefed on the work of the okrug party organization in fulfilling the decisions of the ninth Trade Unions' Congress and of the 12th BCP Congress. At the Georgi Dimitrov Trade Union House in Sofia, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov later met with the Sofia Okrug trade unions aktiv and with high-ranking party, state and public officials. In his speech he spoke about the great tasks which the Bulgarian Trade Unions now are facing. Comrade Petur Dyulgerov also touched on the most topical issues of the international situation by pointing out the position of the trade union organizations in the struggle for peace and for preventing nuclear war. [Text] [AU241526 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 24 Nov 83]

LUKANOV RECEIVES GREEK DELEGATION--Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)--Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers, received last night the visiting delegation of the General Federal of the Farm Cooperatives of Greece [name as received], led by its chairman, Mr Skulas Vangel [name as received]. During the talks there was found that there exist considerable possibilities for extending the cooperation between the cooperative unions of both countries and especially that in the exchange of goods. The meeting was attended also by Mr Ivan Prumov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Cooperative Union. [Text] [AU271915 Sofia BTA in English 1816 GMT 27 Nov 83]

SPACE FLIGHT TELEGRAM TO USSR--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 26 November carries on page 1 the 500-word text of a telegram signed by Todor Zhivkov and Grisha Filipov to the "CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers," congratulating them on the successful conclusion of the Salyut-7--Salyut T-9 space flight with the cosmonauts Lyakhov and Aleksandrov on board. The telegram points out the great scientific value of the recent Soviet space experiment adding that the "results obtained from the space flight represent a great, new contribution to the development of space science and technology, to the Soviet people's benefit and in the interest of peaceful research and use of space." The Bulgarian leaders express the Bulgarian people's and their own "admiration for the manly courage and skill of the Soviet cosmonauts," stating that "the Bulgarian people most sincerely rejoice at the new space victory of the fraternal Soviet country--a result of the wise, Leninist policy conducted by the CPSU." [Editorial Report] [AU281511]

STANISHEV RECEIVES GUYANAN OFFICIAL--On 30 November Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, received Elvin MacBaily, member of the Central Executive Committee of the People's National Congress Party of Guyana, who is visiting Bulgaria. During the meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the guest conveyed a message to Todor Zhivkov. BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, from the leader of the People's National Congress Party and president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, Forbes Burnham. He briefed Comrade Stanishev on the activity of the People's National Congress Party in implementing the decisions of the party congress on the social development of the country, and on strengthening the country's political and economic independence. The U.S. intervention in revolutionary Grenada, and its other aggressive acts against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean were decisively condemned. The necessity of further uniting all progressive forces throughout the world in the struggle against the militaristic course of the Washington administration was stressed. [Text] [AU302112 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 30 Nov 83]

CSO: 2200/47

PHILOSOPHER CLAIMS REAL SOCIALISM'S PEACE WORK JUSTIFIES OPTIMISM

Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG in German 19-20 Nov 83 weekend supplement p 1

[Interview with Prof Wolfgang Eichhorn, head of the historical materialism section at the Central Institute for Philosophy of the GDR Academy of Sciences, by Dr Rolf Moebius, date and place not specified: "Peace—a Question of Mankind or of Class ?"]

[Text] Prof Wolfgang Eichhorn, Ph D, is 53 years old. He heads the historical materialism section of the Central Institute for Philosophy of the GDR Academy of Sciences. He is a full member both of the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and has been awarded the National Prize. Eichhorn completed his studies at Friedrich Schiller University in Jena in 1951 and then worked for a number of years at Humboldt University in Berlin. He obtained his doctorate in 1965, qualified as a university lecturer in 1964 and was named a full professor in 1965. He has published papers on dialectical and historical materialism, on philosophical problems in politics and the social sciences, on ethics and on issues regarding bourgeois theory.

[Question] Nothing is more important today than the preservation of peace. What is your opinion on this from a philosophical and ideological point of view ?

[Answer] The main thing, in my view, is to look at this primary problem of mankind in a historical context—within the context of the laws and class motivations of progress in the present era. Marxists have always stressed this point of departure. It is appropriate to the basic tenets of dialectical and historical materialism.

[Question] But one has to take into account that the potential annihilation of mankind in a nuclear war has created a new situation devoid of any historic parallels.

[Answer] That is true. But this situation, too, did not appear out of the blue. In the final analysis, it is the consequence of the antagonistic dichotomy on which imperialist production for profit is based which transforms productive capacity into instruments of destruction to be used to implement imperial policies of power and blackmail. Anyone wishing to overcome the threat of war must combat its true causes and these are based on specific class interests.

[Question] There are some who say that the concept of the class struggle no longer applies nowadays because we are faced with the issue of the survival of mankind and they also say that wars can longer be the continuation of politics by other means.

[Answer] It is in fact impossible to attain political ends by means of a nuclear war which of necessity would be a war of total annihilation. But unfortunately this does not exclude the possibility that imperialist forces expressly factor in and seriously prepare for nuclear war as a means of realizing their plans for world domination.

Imperialist propaganda makes it its business to confuse a number of different issues. The revolutionary labor movement has made the ban on war as a means of resolving political disputes among nations a basic demand of its class struggle from the start—ever since the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." This has been and still is the basic principle guiding the Soviet Union literally since the first day of its existence. But if you no longer ask about the policies that lie behind the arms race and the preparation for war, then you can easily blame the threat of war on scientific-technological advances; on the availability of perfect weapons of mass destruction and on the disputes between the "superpowers." This is the type of thing that is meant to take the anti-imperialist steam out of the peace movement; split the forces of peace and paralyze them. In this way, the war-and-peace issue may be transferred to an irrational, enigmatic and mystical dimension. And by this trick, the struggle for peace is to be rendered meaningless.

In truth, however, the threat originates as it always has in political and socio-economic goals which in turn are based on distinct and concretely understandable class interests that can therefore also be countered in a concrete way.

[Question] The fact then that the preservation of peace has turned into a problem for mankind throughout the world does not exclude the need to view it from a historical and class standpoint ?

[Answer] That is an important question. Today, peace can only be guaranteed through agreements between states with differing social orders and through disarmament based on the principle of equal security. But what was it that turned war into a problem of global dimensions ? The First

World War, which was the first war in which almost all the nations of the Earth became involved, was a creature of imperialism! At that time, there was no Soviet Union and there was no socialism in the world! But that is merely one part of the story. The other part is the fact that the Soviet Union emerged from the struggle against the world war and that the social revolution of our time and real socialism developed out of the struggle against the world war and the worldwide threat posed by the aggression and power policies engaged in by the imperialist forces. They embody the salvation of mankind from the World War; the efforts toward world peace and the might of world peace. These are all basic historical facts which need to be recalled over and over again.

[Question] They prove how absurd the attempt is "equally to distribute" the blame for war and the threat of war; to put the blame on both state and social orders.

[Answer] Exactly. For another thing, peace and disarmament must always be seen within the context of other major problems facing mankind today. I am thinking of the material and cultural conditions under which the peoples of the developing nations are living; of the continuing crisis situations in the economies of the capitalist world and so on. All these problems do not stem from some irrational side of man or from his technology and his institutions as some bourgeois ideologues would have us believe but from the imperialistic exploitation of the working class and of entire nations and the ruthless abuse of man and nature which goes with it. That is why none of these problems—including the problem of war and peace—can be isolated from the broad trend of social progress in our time and even less in opposition to this trend. That is the unequivocal stand taken by the philosophical ideology based on the teachings of Marx.

[Question] One could thus say that there will be no progress unless peace is preserved and conversely that there will be no peace unless the progress of mankind is guaranteed.

[Answer] That is correct. After all, the danger of war today is caused by the counterrevolutionary efforts of the imperialist forces—particularly of the United States—aimed at stopping or rolling back social progress wherever it has made some advances. Just take Reagan's statement to the effect that the Soviet Union is the incarnation of evil and that socialism is, too, and that a crusade must be mounted against both. That is a call to nuclear war! Just take the declaration by the Reagan administration to the effect that the struggle for the liberation of peoples is synonymous with "terrorism." Now that is a declaration which literally amounts to a proclamation of genocide—which is being put into practice in Lebanon and in El Salvador.

[Question] Wouldn't you place the accusation leveled against us by the bourgeois ideologues to the effect that we have a blind faith in progress in this same context ?

[Answer] I certainly would. Opposition to progress and pessimism are in fact ideological methods used by our adversaries which may pose a very special danger to peace. For us, human progress is not just an empty phrase but an issue of contradictory historical reality.

According to Marx' materialist view of history the decisive criteria of progress are based on the development of the productive forces of the work performed by society and, by extension, in the development of the living standard of the working classes—which, in the final analysis constitute the primary productive power of mankind. This also has an important bearing on the struggle for lasting and secure peace. In the end, after all, the fate of mankind hinges on what the rapidly growing productive forces of human labor are developed and used for.

Are they being used to ease the physical problems faced by the peoples of the developing countries; to continue expanding the physical and cultural life processes of the working class in order to guarantee a secure human existence ?

Or are they being subordinated to the profit interests of the monopolies; being forced to serve the military-industrial complexes and thus being inevitably transformed into means of mass destruction ?

These questions are an indication of how close the connection is today between peace and social progress and how deeply rooted the unity of peace and socialism is—because real socialism helps to effect the top-to-bottom reorientation of the development of productive forces toward benefiting the people, which is a matter of life and death in our time. And that is the most profound reason why peace of necessity stems from it.

[Question] Then what you are saying is that the struggle for progress in which the development of productive forces play an important part in guaranteeing our economic and social policies is also of importance in preserving peace!

[Answer] In several different ways, to be sure! The continuously better utilization of the advantages of socialism with the aim of applying science and technology to achieve greater efficiency in the economy as envisaged in the economic strategy of our party is an important precondition for generally strengthening socialism and its defensive power. It also serves as an example of world historical significance. Science and technology /need not/ increase the threat to mankind as the imperialist demagogues of this world would have us believe. It is of the greatest

consequence for mankind who controls the decisive aspects of scientific-technological progress. The positions in this area which are occupied by imperialism at any rate are a threat and a deadly danger to mankind.

[Question] We were speaking of pessimism. So one could almost say that optimism is something of a weapon for our side in the war-and-peace issue!

[Answer] Yes, indeed—and that optimism has become a matter of life and death. We are not talking about the cheap kind of calculated optimism—but optimism which is based on a firm ideological foundation and which subsumes an awareness of the seriousness of the situation.

The dangers we face are not the result of inexplicable destiny or the so-called logical constraints of modern science and technology. They are, rather, an expression of economic realities and the economically-inspired efforts of a very small minority of influential representatives of monopoly capital and of the military-industrial complex in particular. And for this very reason it is both possible and necessary to confront these threats and to blunt them—which is what all peoples are hoping for. The forces which speak up for peace and against the policy of confrontation, of the arms race and the incitement of military conflict are constantly getting stronger. The forces of the peace movement; the anti-imperialist liberation movement; the non-aligned movement and in the front lines, the international workers' movement and the community of socialist states are all working toward that end. Everything depends on the solidarity and resoluteness of all these forces.

One should also recognize that the fact that the imperialist powers have resorted to a policy of confrontation is the result of a distinct reduction of influence on their part and that the arms buildup policies instituted as a consequence have by no means led to a reversal of this trend. That is already clear today. The enormous growth of the peace movement over the past several years has forced the imperialist governments to change their tactics.

Our optimism is thus based on a scientific foundation; a secure, ideological foundation and on a realistic assessment of the laws of historical development and the motive forces of the masses. This does not mean that we do not see how great the danger is. And what is of great importance—one of the reason for our optimism is that we know we can take matters in hand. Everyone in his own place can participate and do his bit. Given our situation, our goal will have to be to strengthen our political and economic order as well as its ideological foundation and its defense capability in every way possible. The primary goal will always be to work for the successful implementation of the economic strategy outlined by the 10th party congress of the SED.

FRG'S STRAUSS SEES DANGER IN GDR UNDERGROUND DEPOTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 3 Nov 83 p 1

[Article datelined 2 Nov 83 (Reuter): "Strauss Suspects Bad Goings-on in the Fortresses of Albert Speer; CSU Chairman Claims to Have Information on the Expansion of Old Underground Facilities in the GDR for New Atomic Weapons"]

[Text] CSU Chairman Franz Josef Strauss has turned against "perceptible trends" in the FRG government to listen to what may possibly be the last offer from the Soviet Union to prevent the deployment of western missiles.

At an international strategy symposium of the Hanns Seidel Foundation, which is close to the CSU, Strauss last Wednesday said it was conceivable that the Soviets might offer "at the last moment" reducing their SS-20 arsenal by 211 to 54 missiles with three warheads each in balancing the 162 British and French systems. The aim would be to undermine the "western arms catch-up."

There were "noticeable tendencies behind the scenes in Bonn" to consider such an offer psychologically and politically so important and valuable that one simply just could not "let things ride." There was the notion that offer would virtually amount to the "zero option." Strauss himself rejected that notion resolutely, however.

If this way "zero became a variable" and one says it could also be "54 or 75 or 96," the Soviet Union would have gained a "great psychological victory" and veto power over the quality and quantity of NATO weapons in Europe. The West, in turn, would have become the "hostage" of its own "wishful propaganda." He had always met the NATO double resolution with "double skepticism," Strauss went on to say. He would keep the question open if one would not have rapidly reached an outcome in the Geneva negotiations if NATO would at once have responded to the East by catching up in arms. The negotiations had been carried on in a way that had turned the West "into a prisoner of its own domestic policy," however.

The new nuclear short-range missiles the Soviet Union has in the GDR, according to the CSU chairman, were being placed in gigantic underground installations of the former Nazi armaments minister Albert Speer. There were "fairly concrete reports" from the GDR that these "natural fortresses," partly in ruins, have been repaired in the last 2 or 3 years.

These "underground hangars" were partly from 300 to 400 meters below rocks and were by today's yardsticks still safe from nuclear weapons. The fact that these installations had already been repaired and the development and production of SS-21 and SS-22 types of missiles on the average took 6 years refuted the Soviets' claim that the new weapons were only a reaction to the deployment of western missiles. In truth the development and production had already started even before the Geneva negotiations began.

Strauss accused the SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr of a "perversion of thinking" because in his view the war danger came from the West, not from the East. The CSU chairman also expressed this view: "Our NATO membership also means security from the Americans, not only protection from the Soviet Union." In the case of war, an ally would be treated "better" than a neutral state because then "the Americans can show only a limited degree of consideration for the sentiments of the Europeans."

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CSO: 2300/158

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AUSTRIAN EDITOR VIEWS DISSIDENT SCENE

Vienna PROFIL in German 31 Oct 83 pp 60-62

[Article by Michael Sieger, editorial staff member: "Nobody's Going Along"]

[Text] "Interesting things available here, aren't there?" the People's Policeman said to me. He was talking about the bookstore on Alexanderplatz in East Berlin from which I had just emerged.

"Yes," I replied, having in mind the company of grinning plainclothesmen standing around who were dominating the meetingplace of the GDR capital that day.

It was 22 October, the day of the big peace demonstration in the West. In the East only the police were demonstrating--against a feared "disruption of public order and safety," as the arrested peace activists were told. About 150 oppositionists, including the poet Lutz Rathenow, were arrested in their places of residence or in the street. The manifestation expected by the forces of public order on Alexanderplatz did not take place. In the afternoon I was present when missing theologists and dissidents returned home. Laughter and embraces amid coffee and cake. A pregnant woman had been placed under house arrest. Others were allowed by the STASI [State Security Service] people to leave their children with relatives or friends before they were arrested. A housewife complained about having missed her weekend shopping, and the STASI personnel did the shopping for her with shopping list and receipts.

Most of those arrested signed a document stating that they would obey the laws of the republic and that they had received enough food and drink.

Already the Monday before, about 20 young women had gone to the post office on Alexanderplatz in black clothes to mail letters to the military district offices. They were refusing to report for military service, which the year before had also been introduced for girls. Those primarily affected are nurses and post office employees. Some of the women were temporarily arrested. Others formed a chain and called for help when the STASI people tried to drag them away. They managed to escape into a nearby coffeehouse, and from there a superintendent of the Protestant Church who had been called escorted them home.

In a rural commune in the south of the GDR I witnessed the action of a village policeman at a fire prevention exercise. "Being People's Police, we are responsible for everything here," he said in reply to the protests of a long-haired occupant. "All he wants is to snoop around to see whether there are any nude girls lying around," commented a neighbor.

The security of a state which makes such frantic efforts to stifle small symbolic activities as occurred on Alexanderplatz cannot amount to much. Does the GDR begin to totter when 50 or 100 young people hold up posters for disarmament in East and West? Chances are it is the memory of 17 June 1953, when a small group of construction workers went down Stalinallee and turned into an avalanche. That keeps the old Stalinists in the Politburo awake. If today a squad of peace activists went up this deserted asphalt road, which now goes by the name of Karl-Marx-Allee, "the people behind the windows would look on and secretly wish us luck," a GDR peace woman said; "no one would go along."

The real fear of those in power centers around a crisis situation such as emerged last fall when no meat or sausage were on sale any longer and butter was in short supply. Old workers were standing in front of empty stores shouting, "For 35 years we have built the state and now we can't even butter our bread." At that point, the functionaries began to shiver and shake and mobilized the remaining state reserves to come up with food for the GDR Christmas table. "Here people won't go in for revolution until everything has been taken away from them," comments an oppositionist worker.

If one day the state should no longer be able to supply the people, the two or three dozen dissidents who exist in every town of the republic would become the general staff of a political opposition, as happened in Poland.

Therefore 60 peace activists were removed from Jena in the spring.

In Jena I engaged in a discussion with a dozen young workers who in an apartment were looking at "Rock Palace" on West TV. Some actually wanted to pursue their studies but because of their views were not given a chance to speak. The students in the bizarre glass cylinder building of the University of Jena hold them in contempt as spineless careerists. As employees of the Zeiss-Jena optical works, they are among the highly skilled workers whose minds and bodies are still in good shape and who have been the most radical all along. "If Zeiss-Jena goes on strike, the government can call it quits," said one of them. Last summer one of the sections at Zeiss went on strike for a couple of days. The woman in charge of the section had been relieved because it was said that she had stayed at home too often to tend to her sick child. She had not even been informed of the action. The entire section went on strike until the security people threatened to dock their wages.

These longhaired young workers then have to put up with being told by GDR philistines that they "ought to be put up against a wall." One was on the verge of cutting his hair but then changed his mind when an older worker addressed him in a tavern as a "peace f---er."

The longing of these young workers is expressed by the "punks." The only punk from Jena wears a T-shirt with the words "no fun" [in English] in blood-red letters. A band of punk apprentices came up with these lyrics: "Employment I am opposed to / hate doing what I am supposed to / Your gray stewpot is not for me / the person you want, I don't want to be." With a stubbly beard and a silver ring in his ear, he stated in the Thomaskirche in Leipzig, where Bach was cantor at one time: "I don't yet know whether one day I'll let things come to a head, go to jail and apply for permission to leave the country." His friends all find it hard to hold out in this unsophisticated state of yes-men, where Marx looks down from every wall as a bearded grandfather, enjoining proper behavior. "We honor Karl Marx through high achievements in the socialist competition of 1983," a placard reads.

Since the punk from Jena, like all GDR citizens, may no longer travel to Poland, he likes to go to Hungary. Budapest strikes him as almost Western. It is there that he buys his colorful badges. He says: "I know 20 people there, none of whom works--except perhaps to help out in a privately run fashion store."

To apply for permission to leave the country or not--that is a problem common to all of them. "They told me I could be on the other side tomorrow," says one of them, who does not yet feel "ripe" for it and does not want to leave his friend in the lurch. Warmth and solidarity are much stronger on the GDR youth scene than on the one in the West. This is something known to all from their emigre friends who have been driven apart by the merciless competitive pressure for merchandising oneself in the West.

The paternal GDR state strikes the same kind of note. Trade union boss Paul Tisch lures with the "beauty and security" of life in the GDR and threatens with unemployment in the West. But there is not all that much to social security in the East since one often has to wait for a new job for months if one changes jobs.

A worker of a microelectronics plant says that adjustment to the international standard ("world standard") has caused such an increase in working speed that many people employed in such enterprises prefer to go off to less hectic plants.

All efforts notwithstanding, the GDR is continuing to lose ground on the world market. The scarcity of foreign exchange is noticeable everywhere. GDR fruit means apples and pears, and Western consumer goods have to be paid for dearly, either in Western marks in the Intershops or at excessive prices at the Delikat shops (for basic and luxury foodstuffs) or in the Exquisit botiques (fabrics). In these store, Western goods are paid for with GDR marks, but Nescafe for example is five times as high as the price in deutsche marks. Officially the deutsche mark is exchanged at a one-for-one rate, but one gets five times that rate on the black market. The state thus determines the black market rate itself and as a result becomes the biggest black market dealer. Prices for food and basic needs continue to be low in the GDR, but Western television, which one can receive anywhere, with its commercials arouses consumer desires which are almost beyond reach. For instance, a Japanese

Walkman costs almost 1,000 East marks--the equivalent of wages for a month and a half. A collapse of the foreign exchange supply might trigger similar results as in Poland. No wonder the GDR is knocking at Bavaria's door for new credits of 2 billion deutsche marks.

A breakdown of the Geneva talks and the stationing of U.S. missiles in West Europe would suit the GDR leadership. "I can already hear them say," a bearded peace activist explains, "that the West is forcing us to make new armament efforts and that we must therefore tighten our belts even further." The GDR has long since ceased to be the kind of nuclear-weapon-free zone depicted in government announcements and on the stickers of the autonomous peace movement. Soviet nuclear-equipped Frog short-range missiles (with a range of 100 kilometers) have already been stationed here. Now they are to be followed in the GDR and the CSSR by SS-21 and SS-33 missiles with a range of up to 700 kilometers. This planned armament triggered a wave of petition letters to party and state head Erich Honecker, saying: "Mr Honecker, do not make a decision to station nuclear weapons in the GDR contingent on results in Geneva, but declare our republic a perpetual nuclear-weapon-free zone."

So far the senders of these letters have not received an answer. But on 22 October a letter from a church community in Dresden was permitted to be published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in which Honecker is being asked not to "retaliate in kind."

The church does not support the autonomous peace movement everywhere. Activities depend on the consent of the pastor and the parish council. The "peace workshop" of Pastor Rainer Eppelmann in Berlin on 1 July attracted more than 4,000 people. For November, Eppelmann organized a series of events in the Samariterkirche in Berlin which even features the satire "The Police" by Slavomir Mrozek. Atheists in the peace movement admit that the church is providing them with elbowroom for operating independently from the state. Others, similarly as in Poland, criticize the Catholic Church for cooperating too much with the state.

The incarceration of Youth Deacon Lothar Rochau from Halle constitutes a turning point there. Rochau, who bicycled along in the environmental demonstrations, was too political even for the church leadership and was dismissed from his post. In the summer the secular arm struck, sentencing him to 3 years in prison. "When they got approval for televising the mass, they were done with the peace movement," says a peace activist deploring the stand of the church.

The young people are increasingly protesting the militarization of education, which begins with war toys in kindergarten and continues with the obligatory premilitary training. In a playroom I found picture books with aircraft dropping bombs. The mother of 11-year-old Karl has the choice of psychiatric treatment or reform school ("children's jail") for her son. Karl did not want to participate in marches and field exercises. Teachers and classmates told the little one off, and he was punitively transferred to another school.

A "peace freak" from the GDR capital came up with a suggestion: "Why do you want unilateral disarmament in the West? At least demand that in the GDR women no longer be drafted for military services and children no longer receive premilitary training."

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CSO: 2300/21

MINISTRY ISSUES ORDER ON SUPPORT OF YOUTH FUNCTIONS

Ministry Announcement

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 123, 21 Oct 83 p 6

/Article by Dr W. Sierigk, department chief in Ministry for Trade and Supply: "More Functions for Youth in Taverns"/

/Text/ Youth functions are a key concern of the work of local councils with regard to the ongoing comprehensive development of intellectual-cultural life in the regions. Developments in this field have generally been satisfactory in past years. Youth dance functions in public taverns, for example, increased from 110,000 in 1978 to about 173,000 in 1983. They represented around two thirds of all youth dance functions. The high standard of these functions is evident from the fact that every third of them is already coupled with cultural presentations.

However, even more such functions are needed. The new Order on the Support of Youth Functions (GB I No 28 of 20 October 1983) that took effect upon publication, aims to use all tavern capacities even more effectively, including cafeterias in enterprises and establishments.

The Minister for Trade and Supply issued the order in agreement with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB Federal Executive Board. It clearly states the tasks of managers of taverns with regard to the organization of youth functions. One of the requirements is that of adjustment to young customers. They also are to enjoy hospitality and friendly service, and the supply of food and beverages is to be suitable for young people. Good experiences have been gained with respect to the prior arrangements as well as the functions proper, if taverns closely cooperate with the young people.

The order also provides the economic regulations for youth dance functions--for example the financial subsidy granted taverns by the state budget. A new feature is the inclusion in the financial compensation for verified extra costs of youth dances of gastronomic facilities of agricultural and horticultural production cooperatives, cooperatives of inland fishermen and their cooperative establishments. This will create better conditions in rural areas also for meeting the needs of young people for sociability and entertainment in the village.

Young people daily achieve great performances in all sectors of our national economy. They are therefore entitled to expect that the state organs provide the appropriate conditions for youth-specific functions--and do so as directly as possible in the neighborhoods.

Text of Order

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 28
20 Oct 83 pp 265-267

/Order of 1 September 1983 on Support of Youth Functions," signed by State Secretary Dr Jurich for the Minister for Trade and Supply, in East Berlin on 1 September 1983/

/Text/ In agreement with the managers of the competent central state organs and the president of the GDR Federation of Consumer Cooperatives as well as the Central Council of the Free German Youth and the Federal Executive Board of the Free German Labor Union Federation, the following is ordered:

Article 1

Scope

The provisions of this order apply to the holding of youth functions in

- Taverns and hotels,
- Culture and club buildings,
- Enterprise cafeterias

(hereinafter designated gastronomic establishments) of nationally-owned combines and enterprises, consumer cooperatives and consumer-production enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, horticultural production cooperatives and their cooperative facilities as well as production cooperatives of inland fishermen and private retailers who have concluded a commission trade contract with a nationally-owned retail trade enterprise (HO) or a consumer cooperative (hereinafter designated enterprises).

Article 2

Principles

(1) For the further implementation of the Tenth Congress and Eleventh FDJ Parliament resolutions, the services of gastronomic establishments must more strongly emphasize the growing needs of youth for a high standard and versatile organization of leisure.

(2) The managers of enterprises listed in Article 1 must ensure that the managers of gastronomic establishments suitable for the pursuit of young people's leisure activities steadily arrange youth functions at a high standard and, in particular, concentrate on the following tasks:

- Carrying on functions aimed at various age groups and in diverse forms to meet in a socialist manner the needs of young people for dancing, entertainment and sociability,
- Ensuring the warmest possible hospitality by the cultured equipment of public rooms, by courteous, obliging and correct service to the guests as well as exemplary orderliness, cleanliness and safety,

- Ensuring supplies of food and drink suitable for young people, consonant with the nature of the function and orienting to healthy nutrition and an assortment of beverages either entirely free of alcohol or with little alcohol content,
- The involvement of young people in the organization and running of functions, in cooperation with FDJ and labor union management bodies in the enterprises.

Article 3

Economic Regulation in the Running of Youth Dance Functions

(1) Enterprises will obtain financial aid for the running of youth dance functions. This will take the form of a trading margin compensation (hereinafter designated compensation) as follows:

- 30 percent in price grades I-III,
- 35 percent in price grades IV and above

of the revenue amount as per Article 3 Paragraph 3.

(2) Compensation is granted if

- The cultural content of the youth dance function has youth-specific nature,
- The specifications in the respective tavern's supply target are observed, especially with respect to the food on offer as well as the service and furnishings,
- The youth-specific nature and satisfactory standard are confirmed in writing by
 - .. The competent FDJ management (city, local or kreis management),
 - .. The city or local council, and

-- Revenue per chair amounts to

- .. Less than M10 in price grades I-III,
- .. Less than M12 in price grades IV and above

(top revenue to be compensated).

Enterprises will not be granted compensation if the gastronomic establishments merely make available their premises for youth dance functions while the young people supply their own food and drink.

(3) Compensation is to be calculated as follows:

- M5 or M6 per chair respectively for an actual revenue per chair of less than M5 for price grades I-III, or less than M6 for price grades IV and above (without taking account of the revenue yield),
- The difference between the revenue earned and the top revenue to be compensated of M10 and M12 per chair respectively at actual revenues above M5 or M6 per chair respectively

relative to the chair capacity of the respective room available for the function (for example of calculation see appendix).

(4) For taverns operated by private retailers with a commission trade contract, compensation is to be calculated by the same rates, and the commission agreed will be paid as compensation. It is to be calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Compensation} \times \text{contractually agreed commission}}{100}$$

The share of compensation remaining with the enterprise is recorded as profit from commission trade operations.

(5) To be taken into account for the ascertainment of the service-related wage (premium wage or wage premium) for employees in gastronomic establishments are the earnings on which the calculation of compensation is based. These amounts must be allocated as revenues at the end of the month when premium wages or performance per hour of actual working time of the collective are determined.

Article 4

Recording and Accounting

(1) The manager of the gastronomic establishment is responsible for running the youth dance function in accordance with the principles of this order. He must record the revenue accrued as a result of the youth dance function and calculate the compensation payable. The calculation data must be submitted to the enterprise manager within 3 days of the youth dance function.

(2) The enterprise manager must ensure the review of the calculation data. They remain in the enterprise.

(3) Nationally-owned enterprises of the retail trade (HO) or consumer cooperatives claim from their superordinated economy managing organ the amounts of compensation for the previous quarter by the 10th calendar day of the first month in the quarter. The economy managing organ must pay these amounts from centralized net profits by the 20th calendar day of the first month in the quarter.

(4) The amounts of compensation must be accounted for by the economy managing organs¹

-- In nationally-owned retail trade as part of the net profit tax payment to be made,

-- In consumer cooperative retail trade with the net profit tax payment to be made to the respective budget.

-- District economy managing organs must account to the district council, finance department,

--- Central economy managing organs of the nationally-owned retail trade must account to the Ministry for Trade and Supply.

(5) The amounts of compensation for youth dance functions in culture and club buildings as well as enterprise restaurants operated by the enterprises themselves (except for retail trade enterprises) are to be accounted for quarterly or half yearly at the time of the payment of net profit taxes or net profit levy to the superordinated organ¹ and allocated to the cultural and social fund of the enterprise.

(6) LPG's, GPG's /horticultural producer cooperatives/ and their cooperative facilities as well as producer cooperatives of inland fishermen must apply for compensation for youth dance functions in their gastronomic establishments to the kreis council, agricultural and foodstuffs department. The Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs will issue a special regulation with regard to the financing of compensation by the agricultural and foodstuffs departments at kreis councils.

Article 5

Verification

Verification of the amounts of compensation claimed and paid or accounted for is handled as follows within the framework of the balance sheet audit:

- In nationally-owned combines and enterprises by the State Audit Office,
- In LPG's, GPG's and their cooperative facilities as well as producer cooperatives of inland fishermen by the State Audit Office at kreis councils, agriculture and foodstuffs department,
- In consumer cooperative enterprises by the audit committee of the competent consumer cooperative organization.

Article 6

Concluding Provisions

- (1) This order takes effect upon publication.
- (2) Losing effect at the same time is the Order of 29 January 1974 on Support of Youth Functions (GBI I No 9 p 83).

FOOTNOTES

1. Accounting is to proceed in the case of

- Nationally-owned enterprises or combines on Form S 063 or S 063-WO relating to the settlement of own earnings of means, section I line 05 "amounts to be accounted for with net profit taxes," column 02
- Consumer cooperatives and consumer cooperative producer enterprises on Form 71-3 relating to the settlement of fund and net profit tax, No 3.5 "amounts of compensation for youth.../line missing--translator's note/.

BRIEFS

POTENTIAL HONECKER SUCCESSOR ADVANCES--Egon Krenz, the 46-year-old leader of the GDR youth organization, FDJ, and a protege of [GDR State Council Chairman] Honecker, has been elected by the SED Central Committee as a member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC. It is still not known which duties Krenz will take over in the CC Secretariat, but it is speculated that he will relieve Paul Verner, now 72 years old, who succeeded Honecker in 1971 as the CC secretary responsible for security. With his rise to membership in the Politburo and to the post of CC secretary, Krenz is now a member of the tight circle of SED politicians from which Honecker's successor as SED general secretary will someday emerge. With this new status, Krenz has a better chance to succeed his political patron, Honecker, than does Konrad Naumann, who has, of course, been a member of the Politburo since 1976, but who is still party chief of the East Berlin Bezirk, and has not yet managed to leap into the CC Secretariat. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 28 Nov 83 p 1]

CSO: 2300/153

REPERCUSSIONS OF ELIMINATING MID-LEVEL ADMINISTRATION DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 83 p 5

[Roundtable discussion with Istvan Gajdocsi, Karoly Grosz, Miklos Raft, Peter Varga and Laszlo Szabo: "Without the Districts--How To Proceed?"]

[Text] At its most recent session the Central Committee of our party decided on a further development of local party, state and social guidance and is recommending to the National Assembly the abolition of the districts. Thus, beginning 1 January, the administrative map of Hungary will be redrawn.

This process, affecting broad strata of society and requiring reordering of political guidance and public administration work, was the subject of a roundtable discussion between our editors and Dr Istvan Gajdocsi, chairman of the Bacs-Kiskun County Council and chairman of the Legal, Administrative and Judicial Committee of the National Assembly; Karoly Grosz, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County Party Committee; Dr Miklos Raft, chief of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers; and Peter Varga, member of the Central Committee and chief of the Public Administration and Administrative Department of the Central Committee. Our editors were represented by Laszlo Szabo.

NEPSZABADSAG: As a decision, the elimination of the districts is not without antecedents, for the district councils, as elected bodies, were eliminated more than 10 years ago and only the offices remained. This forecast the "wasting away" of the administrative units. But a map and pencil are not sufficient for passing such a momentous decision. Has anyone studied what sort of impact such a political decision will have?

P. Varga: Naturally, and for a long time. The districts developed over centuries. They got their names from the fact that the district seats were drawing centers for the region; one could reach them for even the most distant settlement in a 1-day trip--there and back. They played an especially important role in the swift development after the liberation. So it was natural that many things had to be taken into consideration in a decision which would define the future of Hungarian public administration for a long time. I believe that the people living in the provinces have experienced directly how socialist democracy has broadened in state life,

how the settlements--cities and towns--got ever greater decision-making possibilities, so that the districts lost strength. Thus a new administrative reordering began. This development is indicated by the fact that in 1950 there were councils in more than 3,000 towns, big and little, weak and strong, but their number hardly reached 2,000 in 1970 and today 1,379 town councils handle the affairs and developmental matters of their own and surrounding settlements.

M. Raft: This decrease involved a substantive change also. When there were still many town councils--including a number of small, powerless ones--it was necessary to bring them together in the district councils, which offered aid not only to execute central tasks but also to take care of local state administrative and developmental tasks. These things required expertise which the towns hardly had at that time. It would have been more difficult to carry out the socialist reorganization of agriculture without the districts, and strengthening the producer cooperatives also required effective district cooperation.

P. Varga: The 1971 councils law handed over many tasks to the towns, together with the necessary sphere of authority. But this did not mean that the towns were able to make use of this authority overnight. Many types of administrative, construction and other experts were missing from the towns. And without them the authority handed down was not worth much. So it was not possible to disconnect the district office, as an administrative apparatus, overnight.

M. Raft: Within the framework of a research program approved by the Council of Ministers there have been many studies over several years about what sort of organizational forms and operational conditions best suited the new requirements posed by social and economic development. These analyses made use of international experiences also, and came to a number of decision alternatives in regard to the future. The studies done in connection with the districts showed that there were no interests which would need district council bodies for their representation. The district councils were abolished in 1971, and the district offices taking their place came into being as outlying organs of the county councils to aid the development of town independence.

K. Grosz: A similar process also took place in regard to party organs. More and more district and city party committees have been combined in recent years, which indicates the process of transformation following from development. The central and county leadership--along party and state lines alike--has been watching for a long time how the local tasks are being reordered and what changes will be necessary in public administration and in the structure of local party organizations. The political decision has now been made. But the hard part is yet to come, because we are talking about a very profound and especially a long-lasting process. Frankly, I confess that we in Borsod county, the party and council leaders, have felt for a long time that for the time being the conditions created by economic development have developed in favor of the abolition of the districts in the county, but the subjective, or more precisely the personnel, conditions

have not. There are 349 settlements in the county, and in 102 of these the size of the population does not reach 500. This shows what a great task it is to create the personnel conditions for a new political guidance and state administration which is strong on the spot. The responsible members of the Central Committee and the government have listened to our counter-arguments with extraordinary objectivity. We have had many exchanges of ideas. They convinced us that if the subjective conditions had ripened in the majority of the counties, it was not possible to leave "blank spots," to leave the old system in a few counties. It was not possible to wait any longer--and we accepted this argument also--because the ground under the districts has been shaky for a long time, and uncertainty will recoil--in the "migration" of the best forces--from exactly where there is most to be done, in regard to the personnel conditions.

NEPSZABADSAG: What do you mean by personnel conditions?

K. Grosz: The majority of our villages are so small that we have not yet been able to fill all our administrative slots. Our money will not increase substantially from one moment to the next, so it will be a long process for us before we can provide the new organizational forms and have well-trained people to carry out the substantially increased authority, people who can make use of the great opportunity given by independence. I am afraid that the transformation will cause local administrative work to suffer a little, although the resolution of the Central Committee requires that we preserve the level attained during the transition.

I. Gajdosci: I can confirm by my county experiences that the fate of the districts was to a crucial extent a function of the independence or lack of independence of the towns. Of course, we are not saying that every town will be able to make ideal use of independence, of their greater authority, today. So I also consider it important to create the personnel conditions, which does not take place overnight. Unfortunately it was not possible to keep the best workers of the district offices, the most valuable ones, even with a rope. The process which led to the abolition of the districts has been felt for years in the district offices. And they knew that the majority of them would have to go to the towns, because they had to be strengthened. Strengthening the cities does not require as many people as will be freed by abolishing the districts. So, of the best, those remained to whom we could offer city administrative posts. So I see no other possibility than this, that in the years ahead we must fill the unfilled positions with well-trained young people, prepared in knowledge but inexperienced in practice.

NEPSZABADSAG: Since we chose "how to proceed" as the leading idea for our talk, let us stick with the smaller villages. How can a town of 400 or 500 inhabitants find and exploit its own resources?

P. Varga: The goal is for the town councils to take care of the great bulk of local state administrative matters. Temporarily, however, it will be necessary for a nearby city or large town to take over some of the authoritative matters of some towns. But in regard to administrative

services the so-called administrative association will certainly count as a solution, ensuring for such small villages that the populace will get quality aid in taking care of various matters. This means that three or four towns will have one expert to take care of this or that special administrative task. I must also mention the new electoral law being prepared, which will certainly help to see that the most active members of local public life get the mandate. But I believe that the town magistrates of the future will also deal more effectively with the possibilities of their own settlements.

K. Grosz: Simply because the system of requirements will change also. What was the requirement up to now? Primarily what was formulated from above. The new electoral system will put local interests more in the foreground. Forcing the statistical view into the background in cadre work is becoming very timely. The various bodies and leading offices should be filled by people who are highly valued by their communities, who have personal credit among their fellows. Of course, finding suitable cadres will increase the responsibility of the organs making the nomination.

P. Varga: One can read in the resolution of the Central Committee, thus in the political decision, that the material assets being freed from the district offices, primarily a significant portion of the wages, must be transferred to the towns. Thus, even if we cannot create the personnel conditions immediately and everywhere, more and better work can be compensated somewhat in the pay. I know that this is not a cure-all, because these possibilities are limited also. As for the future, in developing local administration and assigning material assets, the tiny village regions must certainly be taken into consideration.

NEPSZABADSAG: The elimination of an old administrative form is hardly enough, in itself, for the appropriate guidance of the settlements. How do those present see it, what sort of changes will be needed in local party guidance?

K. Grosz: The three "steps" will remain in the subordination and superordination of party organizations, because even hereafter the party committees of the large towns with district rank and the primary organizations will be subordinate to them. The county party committees would be incapable of guiding all the residential area party committees and party leaderships of the county directly. In our county 32 party committees and 877 primary organizations will get a different listing, so there will be a great deal of symbolic and real movement. Of course, in itself this would not require a new style of work.

Despite this, the style of party guidance cannot remain what it was. I hope very much that in the new situation we will succeed in freeing ourselves of some of those formal elements of party work which have bothered us thus far. This will also require a change in view in many things. In my opinion the real test of party guidance may be the extent to which it is capable of aiding the development of independence in the given area. The basis of this is trust and help, not patronage.

M. Raft: The cities are concerned primarily with their own problems. So we hardly need fear that they will "move out" to the towns to an excessive degree. Indeed, at least in the beginning, it will be necessary instead to encourage them to help the towns, to develop various forms of cooperation with them. In many respects strengthening local self-government will require a new style of work not only from the regional centers participating in the guidance of the towns but also from county and national organs. This guidance must reckon with the increasing capability of the town councils to govern themselves and solve their problems and with a strengthening of their economic independence. For this very reason we will need guidance of a theoretical character with normative tools. On the other hand, there must be increased supervision of adherence to authoritative prescriptions and central regulations expressing public interests.

What Comrade Grosz said about party guidance and the new style of it is also important because the party guidance and state guidance of local organs cannot have styles which differ fundamentally from one another. In state guidance, for example, it would be in vain to start from the idea that the city public administration is not the "boss" but rather a partner of equal rank with the town if the city party committee tries to build contacts with the town councils through the city council president rather than through the town party organizations.

P. Varga: This must also be worked out in practice, in life, because I do not believe that there is anyone who could sum up the requirements of everyday work precisely, going beyond generalities. We are not talking simply about habits but rather about the fact that the party organs are dealing with different organizational forms and thus different objective conditions than with those they worked in for decades. Developing the new style of work and embracing useful experiences falls primarily on the counties, because it is there that they can best follow the local experiences and build the best methods into party work.

K. Grosz: Only the counties must also recognize that their areas will be more varied than they have been, because just as the counties differ from one another on a national scale so there are great differences within the counties also. In our case hardly half a percent of all the fixed assets of the county has gone to what had been the Enes district. It is perfectly obvious that the political culture, the political style, has an entirely different character here than, let us say, in Leninvaros, rich in fixed assets, which has 10,000 party members born in socialism and employs highly qualified people. So, if the Miskolc city party committee sets the same norms in party work for the Alszolca party committee as for the party organs of the Lenin Metallurgical Works, there will be trouble. The differences must be worked out inch by inch. And this takes time!

M. Raft: I agree that the differences can only be worked out step by step, but the new forms are much more favorable for evening out the differences than the district system was. If the town administration

truly depends on the town council, as a body, without the district acting as a patron over it, the body will be forced to pay attention to the populace even more, for its members will depend more closely on the voters and must make better use of independence, and new kinds of forces will be liberated by this.

I. Gajdocsi: There will be differences for a long time yet. But the towns learned independence long ago in settlement development, if in anything, about the time since the reorganization of the economic guidance system. The towns and cities experienced the strength of joining forces in development, which will be strong in the future also, in my opinion. What I am more afraid of is whether the administration of affairs will be precise and swift enough in the transitional period.

NEPSZABADSAG: It better be, because the populace cannot suffer from the reorganization of public administration even temporarily.

I. Gajdocsi: Yes. We must create a political atmosphere in the counties which will prevent a decline in the level of work, because it would be intolerable if the affairs of the populace were shoved aside or handled unprofessionally. Let us not forget that in the past decade 350 new transaction groups have been given to the towns. What is reassuring is that in the past 2 or 3 years the towns' handling of affairs has become more professional. This is proven by the fact that the ratio of appeals has totaled only 1.5 percent. In other words, those involved have been satisfied with the great majority of the decisions.

NEPSZABADSAG: How was it decided which town was to belong to which city, and what are those large towns, invested with city rights, which can play the role of regional centers?

M. Raft: A central decision outlined the new public administration "map," but this was done with a far-reaching consideration of science, everyday life and local opinions.

I. Gajdocsi: Even the rich experiences of the districts to be abolished were listened to. There was a great deal of harmonizing work, with the greatest possible respect for the opinions and positions of others. Looking at it historically, we must regard the public administration character of the city and surrounding towns as transitional, but this transition will last a long time, until the smaller towns also grow stronger. It is not a matter of indifference at what depth we lay the foundations of this transitional administrative form for this period. As I see it, the designation of the cities, regions and towns was very carefully thought out.

NEPSZABADSAG: Such an important decision as abolishing the districts, formed historically, affects many personal fates. People must leave work they have done for a long time, perhaps must leave their old residences. How have the counties prepared for this change, arranged it so that its execution will be accompanied by the fewest possible shocks?

I. Gajdocsi: Since the Central Committee declared a plan to abolish the districts even earlier, with a position established in principle, we have had a longer time to make preparations. One of our chief guiding principles has been the humanity of execution. We talked with every administrative worker in a leadership position, and the bodies have dealt with their fate. Our other effort was to save trained cadres, experienced in the work, for public administration. This succeeded only in part; some of them left for better-paying jobs. According to our intentions we would have liked to orient toward the towns those who could be used well. Unfortunately only a fraction of this effort was realized. Still, we did not get upset, we are doing our work in connection with this in a planned manner, but there can be no doubt that the burdens will not be small.

K. Grosz: We also have been doing circumspect work for a long time. The counties were let in on the central ideas, and so the personnel preparations could begin. There were some with whom we talked a number of times. We had 114 unfilled positions in the towns anyway, but only 38 undertook town work. And there are 388 working in the district offices. We talked with all 388 workers, and there are only 20 whose fate has not been decided as of this time. The movement in the party apparatus will not be so great.

As I see it, after a year of uncertainty, people are heaving a sigh of relief, seeing their affairs settled. Of course, those who still had a year to retirement and calculated that they would work it out but now--because of quality replacement also--are being retired with an age concession do not exactly feel as if they would have requested retirement. One cannot entirely rule out emotional motivation either. It may happen, however, that people still have a thorn in their side. We have a great task in finding out how to keep these people after their retirement, to save them for public life. The local leaders will have a great responsibility in this, healing the knots and pains and drawing out the thorns. If they are indifferent and forget about them, the thorns will remain.

NEPSZABADSAG: The districts developed over centuries. But we cannot wait even decades for a new, operational Hungarian local public administration, for the development of an organization serving the populace ever more perfectly. And although the organizational changes will go into law on 1 January, from 1 minute to the next, adjusting them to multicolored life will require a longer time. A series of complex, complicated, many-layered tasks awaits the Communists and state organs of the counties and settlements. We wanted to make this felt with our conversation.

8984

CSO: 2500/80

HOUSING SITUATION CONTINUES CRITICAL THROUGHOUT COUNTRY

Editorial on Housing

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 6 Oct 83 p 3

[Article: "Dear Readers!"]

[Text] You probably notice that this week we are treating the housing question at length. The front-page story stumbles through the steps of housing management, but there was also plenty of material left about the miseries of creating a home to chronicle actual case histories. Of course, we can now be blamed for saying our piece about an "exploitable topic." Those coworkers of ours who sought the answer for the question posed by OTLET--"How did you get an apartment?"--will hardly share in this opinion. That is because it has been found that one can hardly ask a more improper question than that in Hungary today. Upon hearing it the telephones click one after the other, doors are slammed or at least the eyes narrow in a penetrating and suspicious manner. It seems this is just as if someone in the West were asking us about personal incomes. However, our touchy question--to put it tactfully--has been improper for quite a few of us for a long decade now because of "secondary deals" and because of contacts which can hardly be considered to rest on foundations of principle. And they did not answer.

The package of regulations intended to modernize apartment management went into effect 9 months ago. We considered it advisable to check: can the signs of favorable changes be discovered already? We could have waited a few more months, yet no one should view our impatience as worrisome. Attempts to ease the conditions for obtaining one's first apartment remained on paper at most councils, and at the most they serve to color the oratorical turns of speech in reports given on holidays. Where are the guarantees for exchanging an outgrown home for a larger one? Where did the construction materials disappear to in the springtime when half the population builds in communal efforts? Pretty soon even the prices not only of shingles, bricks and lumber but also of the lots obtained for lubricating money are springing sky-high. And the usurious sales of apartments--it would be a shame to use the word value here--has reached magnitudes never before seen.

We were glad to discover in the past months that in the council regulations 75 percent of the apartments to be distributed are intended for young people. In reality not even half of the apartments went to young people. For example, young people under 35 years of age received 25.1 percent of the apartments in Miskolc and 35.2 percent in Budapest.

After 9 months, in the majority of localities, they did not even designate those apartments which can be given as the "first step" to those who have been waiting for years. In general they say that they are not doing anything because there are too few apartments being built and vacated. Everybody waits for someone else--no harm can come from that.

At last there are efficiency apartment houses in the country, but the stiff prices of the OTP [National Savings Bank] and the additional burdens of the miniscule nooks cannot be taken on from the salary of someone just starting a career. Nobody but the population's bank is building efficiency apartments. However, only the purchase of a privately owned apartment can represent the next step from here. For this reason many people consider the first step to be the last one also. Being able to obtain the first apartment is tied in all cases--this time implementing the principle of full equality without exception--to such advance cash savings which also do not take into consideration how much a young person just out of school earns today. In many cities they require preliminary savings of several tens of thousands of forints which represent monthly payments in excess of 1,000-1,500 forints. And in the capital city those who are not entitled to rental apartments must save 190,000 forints in 3 years in order to have any hope at all for the next step.

The council regulations specify with painful precision the obligations of those who have obtained their first apartments, and also the legal consequences which strike the violators. But not one council regulation can be found which promises sanctions if the council violates the contract. Nowhere is there one guarantee for the long-awaited time when one may move in. So then if someone saves, performs, worries and hopes for it, after 4-5-6 years (the time can only be guessed), instead of a more humane home one might perhaps just get a theoretical dissertation about the load-bearing ability of the economy.

Nine months provide little time for the evaluation. The turnabout has not yet taken place in apartment management. Today it is difficult just to get on the first step of getting an independent home. And for many the later steps are for the time being at an unreachable distance.

Chronic Material Shortages

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 6 Oct 83 p 8

[Article: "Lime in the Construction Supply Yard?"]

[Text] "In the present situation, the contractual construction material supply is only 'salvation on paper.'"

According to the authorities the supply of construction materials is generally satisfactory, but according to the buyers it is lousy and getting more and more expensive. They might be right; at least a recently completed KIS⁷ survey proves this. This summer, investigating 32 TUZEP [Fuel and Building Material Trade Enterprise] yards of 7 countries, the authorities were curious about how much is available from the 94 kinds of indispensable construction materials.

The list of temporary or long-term shortage items and that of the construction materials which are available without any special problems, provide a rather disheartening picture. One can speak about supply without problems only in the cases of 350-label portland cement, B-45 bitumen, bitumenized roofing sheets, floor covering sheets and tiles. The statement is to be understood only for quantity, because due to improper storage and the crowding in the yards often even these materials become ruined. Due to storage problems the selection is limited in tiles and floor covering sheets; thus it is not rare that even that which does exist is not available. (Of course, if there were warehouse space available, it is not certain that--because of the regulations concerning commercial inventory management--there also would be tile.)

Distribution of the imported materials is made more difficult by the fact that the private stores buy up large quantities of the arriving merchandise, and then sell them after a "justified" markup. (On the other hand, there is no doubt that the private markup is cheaper than the under-the-table lubricating money.)

These items cannot be called long-range shortage items because they are available at the price of some time, huge costs and plenty of patience: burned and slaked lime, asbestos cement, roof covering sheets, bitumenized roof covering sheets, expanded perlite, Mettlachi sheets, asbestos cement drainage pipes, eaves ducts, sawed beams, round beams, entrance doors, parquette as well as bathroom accessories--with the exception of bathtubs.

In more than half of the 32 TUZEP yards visited during the survey, there were a shortage of windows and interior doors; and with the exception of roofing slates the selection is poor in all sizes of sawmill goods--so concluded the groups working under assignment for the Department of Economic Policy and Interest Protection.

The above list contains not "extras" but materials indispensable to construction. Perhaps the person who planned the expected development of this year's sales could tell how the individual "building from private resources" could built with a lack of these, how he can hold himself to the deadline promised to the OTP and how he can protect the already purchased materials against damage and aging.

At the beginning of the year the Ministry of Domestic Commerce estimated the increase of demand--at unchanged prices!--at one percent. And this--knowing the reorganization of the housing construction formats--would have been insufficient even if at least the planned material quantities arrived

at the TUZEP yards in time. But the delivery was not continuous, quantity and quality did not correspond to the plan and coordinated inventorying by the yards and the National Information Service remained nothing but promises.

Some of the Survey's More Interesting Data

Name of construction materials	Probability of successful purchase in the 32 yards (percentage)	Ratio of yards which do not carry the given material at all (percentage)
Small solid brick	31	0
Double-sized brick (twin cell)	6	22
Poroton wall block, PF 45/19 of PF 30/1	9	28
Gas silicate wall block	6	16
6-cm interior wall sheeting	16	13
Cement, type 350	100	0
River sand	3	88
Mine gravel, 0/32	16	78
Burnt lime	63	13
Slaked lime	47	22
Reinforced concrete beam, E-7-42	3	9
Insulation EB 60/19	50	6
Grooved roofing tiles	19	6
Asbestos cement roofing slate, grey, 40x40x0.4	63	0
ISOLITH sheet, bare, 50 kg/m ³ density	22	25
Mineral cotton blanket, 3-cm thick	16	28
Mozaik sheet, 20x20x2 cm, grey	31	6
Wall covering tile, 15x15, white	95	0
Sawed pine beam, 10/12	50	6
Wood plank, 16-20 mm	31	3
Wood floor board, 50 mm	41	6
Entrance door 100/210	75	3
Interior door, solid, 90/210 for walls, 12-cm thick	69	3
Window, unified wing, opens to the side, 90/150	50	3
Window, unified wing, 90/60, opens vertically	31	6
Oak paraquette, 22-mm thick	75	6
Bathtub (white), 170 cm, cast iron	3	38

In the present situation the contractual building material supply is "salvation on paper." If something is not there, it will not be there because of a contract. The buyer, if he does not want to wait forever, will look somewhere else not considering time and money, pays somewhere else and--for the most part--gets deliveries from further away. The seller does not fare better either, because in spite of the contract he cannot guarantee when the material in demand will arrive, he cannot take a deposit and in the end--even if infrequently--he gets stuck with the merchandise which was "sold on paper."

And the buyer--who undertook to build a home out of his own resources--keeps hoping and running from one yard to the next, trusting that for once finally he will be not only subsidized but also supplied with building materials.

Private Reserves

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 6 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Zs. L.: "Private Resources for Cash"]

[Text] In all certainty the new construction system will be popular, which makes it possible for single-family homebuilders to assign all the problems of creating a home to a general contractor, from planning to handing over the key. In the future they will not have to stand in line for OTP loans, run around for one permit or another, buy materials, haggle with an army of craftsmen--it will be enough to find just one enterprise-minded special cooperative or small craftsman and if they like, they can even avoid the vicinity of the lot until the key is ready to be handed over.

This method of construction--upon the initiative of the Patriotic People's Front [HNF]--raises beautiful hopes and also opens up new vistas among builders and among those who want construction done. According to many, the demand has long existed for this type of comprehensive service. But until now only the future occupant could get the OTP loan; he had to satisfy the conditions. But if the HNF's idea meets with a favorable reception among the authorities, any general contractor for construction will be able to take out this kind of construction loan--even for the construction of several homes--which will then be taken over by the owner (after the key is turned over) and repaid over some decades.

Our public opinion survey of the interested parties has mixed results: those asked see opportunities as well as stumbling blocks in having their sphere of authority expanded.

"This type of general contracting has for some time been an accepted format, for example, in Hajdu-Bihar County"--says Laszlo Szabo, chief engineer of the Construction Industrial Cooperative in Budapest's 14th district.

"In my opinion it can, by all means, help implement the housing management program, since it would put an end to the accounting system of post-construction calculations by the builders which until now has just slowed down the entrepreneurs. But I am afraid that the housing costs will further increase--for the very reason that there will be fewer people doing their building with their own hands. Those with more money will really have the contractor do everything, but those who have to watch the forint will continue to build from their own resources."

"Finally this would really be a task suitable for the GMK [economic work cooperative]"--declares Peter Bokor, the Villa GMK's representative.

"In my opinion this would not increase the prices at all; on the contrary, it would eliminate the very factors which increase prices--the haggling between planner and builder, the constant modifications between the order placer and the subcontractor, the manpower fluctuations which characterize constructions. At times these factors may even extend the time of construction by as much as a year, which today is equivalent to sharp price increases."

Situation in Budapest

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 6 Oct 83 p 10

[Article by A.D.: "Picture of the Situation in the Capital City"]

[Text] "Can decrease of the waiting time be expected at the councils?"

How many people in Budapest are waiting for the councils to solve their housing problems? Prior to the 1981 refiling of requests there were 186,000 people on the list of requestors, and this number has dropped to about 100,000. During the course of petition refilings conducted in the first half of this year, the councils recorded about 58,000 valid apartment requests on their rolls. We can add to this also the 13,000 requestors who did not have to renew their requests because they were already on this year's list of names.

The councils have recently conducted a representative evaluation in Budapest about the reasons for the decrease in requests. Five thousand families were asked: why did they not renew their requests for apartments? More than 40 percent of them replied: because their housing problems have already been solved. Twenty percent of them did not have the required sum for deposit. Twelve percent of the families did not resubmit their papers to the councils because someone else is planning to solve their housing problems. Some related that they did not know about the mandatory refiling of requests, while others returned the questionnaires blank.

It is also educational to look at the composition of the apartment requestors. Three-fourths of them do not yet have an independent apartment, and 25 percent of them would like larger or better-quality apartments than they now have. The ratio of physical workers and those who immediately

direct production has significantly decreased among the requestors, as did also to some extent that of young married couples. It can be credited as a result of the implementation of the apartment finding program that today a lot fewer families with two or more children are waiting for independent apartments than before, but there are many more single individuals.

According to the Capital City Council's housing policy guidelines announced in 1981, during the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan the justified housing demands of 64,000 families must be satisfied. So far this program has been implemented on the basis of time, and the councils have fulfilled over 40,000 requests on the basis of the apartment finder list of names. It is particularly noteworthy that the number of organized exchanges increased by about 30 percent, which indicates an improvement in apartment management. The Central Apartment Exchange Department established on Eotvos Street in the 6th [Municipal] District plays an important role in this, as it handles and coordinates fulfillment of the exchange requests in the entire area of the capital city, naturally on the basis of the list of names accepted by the district councils.

The opinion of the council experts is that--not counting the special needs--by the end of 1985 the requests of the 14,000 exchange petitioners now on record can also be solved. It is important to know that those who accept temporary quarters must be given permanent apartments in condominiums within 5 years or council-managed rental apartments within 6 years, that is, they have exchangeability in accordance with their entitlements for their needs. Of course, depending on the number of children, these waiting times decrease significantly. (For example, as we have already mentioned, they are entitled to an exchange apartment within 2 years after the birth of the second child.)

The experts are also working on the idea of modifying the apartment finding program. For example, there is a proposal on the agenda that the maximum waiting time for families with two children who have no apartment be decreased in the capital city from the present 5 years to 4 years.

Situation in Szeged

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 6 Oct 83 p 11

[Article by Miklos Halasz: "Swaps at a Loss"]

[Text] "The in-things now are the room-and-a-half and the efficiency apartments."

Last November everyone in Szeged who had ever visited the housing office on exchange matters received an invitation: come as soon as possible to the Apartment Exchange Department of the Real Estate Office. Over 800 people visited the abovenamed institution, and since then 200 of them have been smiling from ear to ear.

There were some who had been waiting for their right exchange partner, and now within half a year they found that partner. Instead of divine providence, credit for all this is due to the new housing management regulations.

They praise the new regulation, but practically everyone observes how nice it would be if... if there would not be so many cracks between the housing management statutes. One of these strikes the very Apartment Exchange Department because it is not financially interested in swapping as many apartments as possible in several steps. As a profit-oriented institution, its interest is in not dealing with either apartment after the second step. That is, following the third and fourth swap it can account for the costs involved in handling them as losses. It cannot account for them as service fees if due to several steps the overhead cost on the vacant apartment has increased, even though the housing inventory would increase with the multiple steps. The circle would expand from which the right exchange partners would have a greater chance of finding each other.

It is a unique problem in Szeged and also makes the multi-step apartment distribution exchange so difficult that the difference in value between the inner city and the residential district apartments does not reflect the real situation. In half a year the exchange was officially able to handle only one swap because migration between the center city and the new settlements is practically zero. A simple mathematical item sheds light on the reasons. For a council-managed two-bedroom home with all utilities the Apartment Exchange Department may pay a maximum of 221,000 forints as an apartment use fee and 198,000 for a similar one with utilities in the inner city. If someone moves to an area outside the grand concourse, he is forced to sacrifice 26,000 forints. At the same time, in private deals, as much as 60-100,000 forints may be paid in a similar case to be able to live in the heart of the city. In this respect the local council regulation does not take into consideration the unique situations in Szeged, the market value, and figuratively speaking it stands between the swapping partners. The value of an inner city apartment, even if it only has some utilities, is higher on the market than that of the most comfortable one in the residential settlements. Determination of the value differences of the inner city apartments should be freed up, and then migration in two directions would begin.

Naturally the beneficial effects of the statutes can also be felt in this city on the banks of the Tisza because the apartment market has enlivened, and people are obtaining the homes suitable for them faster. Most people in Szeged today are looking for the small apartment. Years ago the popular tune was the 2 plus 2, but now only a total of 17 people singed up for such homes. Now the room-and-a-half and the efficiency apartments are the in-things. Increased rents have a role in this, and the fact that the prefabricated room-and-a-halves on the Tisza's banks are very successful models, and because of their design and layout they are beating the large apartments.

Unfortunately there are not enough efficiency apartments. The OTP started an action for the Sixth 5-Year Plan, and within the framework of this there will be 300 homes with 35 square meters each built in Szeged. Smaller numbers of such efficiency apartments will also be built in Mako, Szentes, Csongrad and Vasarhely. KISZ will select the buyers, and people in their twenties will have to come up with 30 percent of the 380,000-forint purchase price. The OTP initiative is commendable, but the middle aged and elderly are also interested in efficiencies since the number of divorced people and people living alone is increasing. Presumably the number of the present 6,000 apartment requestors would decrease significantly if the city embarked on an efficiency construction project of greater proportions. With the multi-step exchange we could soon overcome a large portion of the present housing shortage and it is imaginable that several kinds of problems would be solved at once with the mass construction of the most sought-after types of apartments.

Every expert calls attention to the fact that there are more and more people whose standard of living and budget do not allow a move into another, better home. Takeovers are also hindered by the fact that the owners of houses condemned for construction project purposes do not accept the new apartments with all utilities because they are unable to pay the higher rent. And people are not budging from the partial-utility apartments in the center city because, among other things, they are unable to pay the 100,000-forint moving-in fee for full utilities. For the time being, lack of money is the obstacle to the several-step distribution of apartments.

Situation in Szolnok County

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 6 Oct 83 p 11-12

[Article by Erno Kardos: "The Wolf Outside, the Sheep Inside"]

[Text] "The multi-step way of getting apartments has only minimally decreased the deadlines."

"You ought to investigate this!"--appealed a young woman with two children in a recent letter to Szolnok County's Popular Control Commission, after she studied at length the list of names of those in the City Council's hall who were given apartments this year. This was because the writer saw it in black and white that people in a much better financial situation than herself and without children were also moving, while she has not even received notification about her chances.

The popular control investigators uncovered it within a short time, and our indignant heroine will also receive an apartment this year, but while she is "going through the steps"--that is, she will be moving up from an efficiency apartment--the young married couples who are placed on the abovementioned list (there are about 20 of them), upon proposal by their places of employment, are moving up on the basis of their abilities and work from sublets into new homes--before the waiting time expires.

"Of course, for the 2,000 young apartment requestors living in Szolnok (another 2,000 are over 35), hope is represented not by letter writing but primarily by waiting"--as Dr Sandor Krizsa, head of the city council's administrative department, greets me. "According to the calculations, couples in this city with two children can receive OTP apartments within 4-5 years and council-managed apartments within 5-6 years, depending naturally on their social situation. Finding apartments by the multi-step process has only minimally decreased these deadlines, primarily because the efficiency apartments given to young people in 1978--in accordance with the local council's regulations--were given to them for 5 to 7 years. And it is easy to calculate from this that the first flocks of swallows [sic] will only be flying out in 2 years.

Which fortunately does not mean that those to whom children were born in the meanwhile will still have to be cramped up on the 30-some square meters. Since 1980, at each distribution of apartments they "move up" 15-20 needy ones of the 200 families. But the majority remains for the 7 years fixed in the contract, partly because there are not enough apartments but also because young people do not have the money.

Only pencil and paper are needed to calculate that if someone moved into an efficiency apartment in 1978 and each month "pre-saved" 1,000 forints--and someone at the beginning of his career can hardly save more than this--he now, after 5 years, has saved 60,000 forints. Perhaps in 1978 this would still have been enough to buy in- if the place of employment also helps--but it is not enough today. Five years ago 120,000 forints were needed, now 200,000 are needed to start out. This sum remained after the social policy discounts and the obtainable loans were subtracted, or the employer may still decrease it by another 80,000 or so, but then it is still not enough. If the parents cannot help, then the impossible situation has developed that even after the 7 years the young people are unable to buy the OTP apartment and must stay--if they can stay--in the efficiency.

It is also worth wondering what happens when someone earns less than he did 5 years ago. Possibly because of the children the earnings per family member have decreased so far that in the meanwhile they became eligible for a council-managed apartment. The question is, can they receive such a benefit? Clearly not, since in the contract he has accepted the larger burdens--in the hope of getting an apartment. Thus he stays in the efficiency, which is unpleasant also for the council. But for the time being, even that would not represent a solution if all 200 young couples could create the financial conditions, because in 1 year in the city the council--due also to a lack of money--will turn over a maximum of 160 keys to the owners. (And those under 35 receive "only" 53 percent of this number, which is a good ratio.)

So it is difficult to be on the outside, but inside is not easy either. On the other hand, those who this year got into the first so-called apartment finding action do not have to worry about the most mentioned

problems. That is, the council decided to review again the social situation of the applicants at the time they are given their permanent apartments and that is when they will also decide who is entitled to cheaper apartments and who is entitled to more expensive ones.

In spite of the expected conflicts, since 1980 the number of completed and occupiable apartments was successfully doubled by the multi-step method and by quality exchanges. Intervention by the authorities has somewhat decreased the black market's prices and also its volume. In spite of this, an additional room still costs 100,000 forints in swaps among parties. This can be explained primarily by the fact that only a few three-room apartments are built, and the ones with one room and two half-rooms are also rare, even though often the young people are looking for larger rooms rather than for more square footage.

The KISZ's City Committee was not lacking good will when last year it decided to build a residential complex with 43 apartments in its own organization on the outskirts of Szolnok. But the lack of experience, know-how and support resulted in not one spadeful of dirt being turned by the completion deadline, that is, to date in the designated area. What the reason for this is would be practically impossible to discover today, but it is not worth it either since the work will begin this month, and if they do not have to face any more miserable situations, then this time next year they will have to sweat to decide who from the several hundred applicants can move into the large apartments.

Situation in Gyor

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 6 Oct 83 p 12

[Article by Istvan Cseresznyak: "Even Too Much Is Too Little"]

[Text] In Gyor with its 135,000 inhabitants there are 17,000 state-owned apartments on record. Of the nearly 7,000 apartment applicants 3,322 renewed their apartment applications, and at the same time 402 reported new requirements. So at this time 3,724 apartment applications are on record. Yet Istvan Liszkai, chairman of the City Council VB's [Executive Committee] office is not optimistic:

"Under today's economic circumstances we can only satisfy this many apartment applications with difficulty and over a long period of time. I will just give you one example: of the 854 apartment applicants we have who are entitled to council-operated rental apartments, this year we could give apartments to just a little over 100. And a lot fewer than that next year. There are 950 waiting for cooperative apartments, in spite of the fact that we have informed everyone that this format will be eliminated after 1985."

On the other hand, the council-assisted exchange of private apartments has also enlivened in Gyor. The difference in the case of a private swap the parties ask for significantly larger sums of each other than they would be

officially entitled to for one extra room. The fact that an Apartment Exchange Department has been set up at the Real Estate Handling Enterprise in Gyor has significantly decreased the black market offers, but has not completely eliminated them.

In order to ease the housing problems of young married couples, in the coming years efficiency apartment houses will also be built in Gyor, Sopron and Mosonmagyaróvár. In Gyor next year 59 such apartments will be delivered to tenants. But there would be a need for several hundred.

Situation in Miskolc

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 6 Oct 83 p 12

[Article by Zoltan Toth: "Frugal Guarantee"]

[Text] In Miskolc last year the first tenants moved into the apartments of efficiency apartment houses, also called houses of young people. Each of the 80 efficiency apartments built in the Szinva People's Garden Residential Colony was given to young childless families or ones with two children for minimal compensation. The City Council of Miskolc and the Borsod County headquarters of the National Savings Bank gave guarantees to these families that within 5 years they will be given apartments commensurate with their needs. The contracts have two sides, as the young people will have to have youth savings deposits and will also have to furnish proof of adequate advance savings. The OTP has also agreed that if the young people satisfy all the requirements it will give them loans to pay for the difference between the price of the efficiency apartment and the price of their permanent home, which will have to be paid at the time they move in.

The initiative of the Lenin Metallurgical Works seems to be a good idea. They have discovered in Diosgyor that more and more young people want to leave their place of work because they cannot expect apartments within the foreseeable future. Therefore management decided: they will convert a major portion of their 600-person workers hotel, which is hardly used today at all, to efficiency apartments. Recently 50 young metalworks couples were able to move in this way into their temporary homes. They have to pay a minimal reimbursement fee for the efficiency apartment, and thus they have the opportunity to save from their beginner's wages and buy a youth savings deposit book.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Trade Union Matters With Workforce

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 27 Sep 83 pp 1,2

[Article by H. Jelec: "Union Matters Are Workcrew Matters"]

[Text] Representatives of union organizations in larger enterprises--among them, members of union federations--and members of the founding committees of additional trade union federations of Opole met yesterday in the Provincial Government hall with representatives of our provincial authorities.

The conference was organized on the initiative of the Provincial People's Council [WRN] and was chaired by the WRN Deputy President, Tadeusz Minczakiewicz. The participants, among others, were: Opole Governor Zbigniew Mikolajewicz and PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary Zdzislaw Niedzielski, who presented the current economic and political situation in Opole Province to the gathering and answered questions raised by representatives during the discussion.

The participants heard the report of the Consultative-Advisory Group on Trade Unions operating at the WRN describing the present development of the union movement in the province, and the District Labor Inspectorate report on the conditions in our enterprises, level of work hygiene and safety and observance of labor law regulations as well as violations found during a state labor inspection.

A total of 631 union organizations are now registered in Opole Province, with a membership of over 100,000 (about 35 percent of the socialized economy total workforce). It is difficult to generalize, but the highest concentration of union membership is found in small and medium-size enterprises. In the majority of organizations, the newly elected authorities consist of people rather young or lacking experience in union work, needing appropriate training.

The participants discussed a large number of issues vital to the workcrews but not necessarily to the enterprises. Many critical words were aimed at commerce. Another issue which made a comeback (not for the first time) was the subject of the so called "controlled" sales.

A separate and still unresolved problem was the working out of the method of consultation with trade unions on the more important decisions of the authorities directly affecting the working class. During yesterday's meeting a proposal was made that materials for WRN sessions which are sent to the council members should also be distributed among larger union organizations. The representatives of the Provincial Council obliged themselves to consult with the unions on decisions concerning the development and functioning of commerce and the health service and the issues connected with improving working conditions in enterprises. Let us recall that another attempt at such consultations consisted of meetings with union representatives on, among other things, housing construction and gardening plots. As in the case of yesterday's conference, it was organized by the Opole WRN, which, it seems, has made this type of meetings a permanent part of its work program.

Registration of Union Federations

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 29 Sep 83 pp 1,2

[Articles by (hen), (K.K.), (H.S.), and (PAP): "Union Activists in Various Branches Are Acting with Increasing Energy"]

[Text] The trade union movement, growing and solidifying in its ranks, is becoming increasingly vocal on the questions most important to our country. New federations are being created and others, already formed, are being registered in courts. At conferences and union meetings the need to maintain the strength of the organization is stressed. The organization, besides being a trustworthy partner, must also be a determined negotiator in relations with the administration. Tuesday was another day of increased activity for the union movement in our country.

On the 29th of this month, the Provincial Court in Warsaw registered the Federation of the Trade Unions of Hard Coal Mines, Mining Works Enterprises' and Enterprises of Building Pit Shafts in the Polish coal industry. The federation, to which 70 trade unions belong and which represents about 170,000 members, including 140,000 people active in their trade, has its headquarters in Katowice. Currently only 10 trade unions of hard coal mines remain outside the federation.

The idea to create this interplant union structure of coal industry employees took shape between March and April of this year, when the mining crews came to the conclusion that their interests ought to be represented by a strong organization which would be a trusty partner and a tough negotiator

in relations with the industry's administration. On the 10th of May 1983, a national founding group was formed, and on 22 June a statute of the organization was passed. On 8 September 1983 the Council of State of the PPR passed a resolution providing for the creation of this mining union federation.

Representatives of hard coal mines of all mining districts: Upper Silesia, Zagłębie, Lower Silesia and Lublin Province participated in the registration of the new union structure.

"We have created this interplant union from foundations," said Rajmund Moric, the chairman of the federation's founding committee, a foreman in the Wujek mine, after the registration act. "Our statute was worked out and accepted after many discussions. Gradually the attitude of the broad masses of miners toward the new trade unions and us activists, has changed. This can best be illustrated by numbers: in the beginning of March we had 70,000 members, today we already represent about 170,000 employees of the mining industry."

From the court building the union activists went to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the Warsaw Nike monument, and later to the grave of Gen Aleksander Zawadzki in the Powazki Cemetery and laid flowers in those places.

In the afternoon the union activists were received by the Minister of Mining and Power Engineering, Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski. The participants in the meeting expressed a conviction that further cooperation by both sides will follow a prosperous course in the interests of the miners and the national economy.

Joining Trade and Social Interests

In Lodz, representatives of trade unions of industrial enterprises of various branches and the Presidium of the Founding Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions of Light Industry Employees, representing union locals from the whole country, discussed the current problems of the union movement undergoing rebirth with the participation of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Representatives of particular trade groups expressed their opinions in a concrete way on the problems rankling their workcrews, and presented motions and suggestions. They emphasized that particular attention ought to be paid to the cooperation between trade unions with the administration, worker self management and social organizations. Partnership must depend on mutual distribution of tasks, responsibilities and competences.

Lodz union members want to participate not only in voicing opinions but also in deciding such important issues as work conditions, the awarding of prizes and bonuses, and all day to day questions of interest to the workcrews. The issue of charters for various trade groups, which in the future ought to be a theme for another discussion, was also brought up. Currently--it was said--the group and trade interests must be joined with the social interest.

After the meeting Deputy Premier Rakowski told the PAP journalists: "It was a useful and necessary meeting of union activists. Lodz union members represent strength in their community. They have precise views on the subject of trade unions. In the room there were many representatives of youth and many women, who voiced their opinions. During the discussion lasting many hours no unrealistic postulates or suggestions were made, but rather those which in their majority can and will be looked into.

Let Us Not Bypass Controversial Issues

Yesterday in Katowice there took place the first, statutory session of the congregation of unions, the highest organ of the Metallurgical Trade Union Federation [HZZ]. On the agenda were the issues of collective work structures and collective agreements between enterprises. The federation presented its stand on the assumptions of the draft statute of the Council of Ministers concerning changes in the principles of remuneration for employees in the socialized economy. During the meeting the decision was made to accept into the Federation several more unions wishing to join.

The issue of a new collective structure in the metallurgical industry is not a new topic. It has been brought up frequently in workplaces and enterprises, and understandably so. After all, wages in the metallurgical industry are far from the highest, yet work conditions in the workplaces of this branch are exceptionally hard.

A representative of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Issues participating in the meeting, spoke about the necessity of creating a new structure of remuneration for work and eliminating those components which are unconnected with productivity and the quality of work. He also stated that in order to create new suprafactory systems, an appropriate Sejm statute and changes in legal regulations were necessary.

From the pronouncements of the participants in the discussion, however, it became clear that despite current obstacles, the HZZ Federation will not give up striving toward a new collective structure.

The HZZ Federation pronounced itself in favor of such wage mechanisms which in a cohesive way tie wages to productivity and quality of work; enterprises ought to be given the possibility of rebuilding inner wage structures and establishing proper wage proportions that would give priority to work in harmful, hard and dangerous conditions. The introduction of an experimental system of remuneration in enterprises belonging to the HZZ Federation was also approved.

Representatives of particular trade unions were critical of the present realization of the postulates, particularly concerning the issues of wages, social and work conditions.

During yesterday's meeting a commission was created to prepare the project for a collective work structure and a commission for information and

propaganda which would improve the efficiency of information distribution within the union.

What Impedes the Work of the Construction Industry?

"Has everything been done indeed to get the construction industry going?"

The answer to the above question asked by a union activist was examined by representatives of 59 trade unions, members of the Federation of Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions of the Construction Industry and Cooperative Housing Employees, the day before its registration.

In the course of animated discussion the union activists representing over 20,000 employees of construction enterprises, housing cooperatives and transport of building materials enterprises from Katowice Province, pointed out the difficulties in the realization of production plans. These were: material shortages, low wages, unsatisfactory organization of work, shortages of protective wear, sluggishness of the management in some enterprises with regard to solving urgent problems and the necessity to revise the collective structure which had been worked out before the implementation of the principles of the economic reform.

Much attention was also devoted to the issues of health protection and particularly to a broadly designed prevention program. For example, the centrally controlled distribution of sanatorium stay prescriptions continues to evoke many controversies. Union activists believe that a half year wait for a decision is a great misunderstanding, to put it mildly. They therefore postulate that in the future a special social commission acting in the federation's office in Katowice ought to take care of this.

Wiktor Zieleniewski, Director of the Department of Employment, Wages and Social Issues in the Ministry of the Construction and Building Materials Industry took a stand on the pronouncements of the participants in the debate and said that the conviction that low wages in the construction industry--which in the eyes of the industry's employees is the greatest cause of personnel turnover--is mistaken. Statistical data for the current year show that in this regard the construction industry places second after the mining industry. The cause of the problem lies, therefore, somewhere else.

In turn, Katowice Deputy Governor Marian Kachniewicz spoke about the undertakings of the provincial authorities aimed at aiding the construction industry in the realization of its tasks.

In conclusion, the PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary in Katowice, Bogumil Ferensztajn, took the floor and emphasized that the discussion revealed an urgent need to form a federation in order to solve all the problems concerning the construction industry. He also pointed out that the creation of difficulties for union members by the management of some enterprises is contrary to party policy, which considers trade unions an authentic representative of the interests of the working class.

The meeting ended with the adoption of the motions formulated by the participants in the meeting and the decision of passing them on to the authorities of the future federation.

Farmer-Union Activists on Social Issues

Yesterday in Katowice the First Provincial Conference of the Trade Unions of Agriculture Workers took place. Representatives of union organizations, particularly from the PCR [State Collective Farm] combine and institutions servicing agriculture, participated; among them were: the POM's [State Machine Centers], SKR [Cooperative Farming Circles], the Seed Center and others. The Federation of Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers numbers 1272 union organizations nationwide and 400,000 members.

The delegates to the provincial conference discussed the social issues of agricultural workers. Concrete postulates for needed amendments in the Collective Structure of Labor and the union structure were put forward. Delegates were elected to the First National Convention of the Federation of Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers, which will take place on 10 November in Warsaw.

Tadeusz Iskrzycki, Central Committee member, director of the PCR Combine in Leszczyny, participated in the conference.

* * *

On the 28th of this month, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, received the leaders of the National Founding Group of the ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] and the signatories of the ZNP registration document in the Provincial Court in Warsaw on 5 August 1983, together with its president, Kazimierz Pilat. They discussed the preparations for the ZNP National Congress, the problems connected with the realization of the Teacher's Charter, the forms of the ZNP's cooperation with educational authorities, the union's participation in the process of the Polish school's renewal and the matters connected with the proper functioning of the system of national education.

* * *

Representatives of trade unions and founding members of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Metal and Electric Machines Industry gathered in Krakow. They discussed the principles of changes in the wage system proposed by the government. The union activists adopted a number of suggestions and postulates regarding the manner of continuing further consultations on changes in the wage system. The proposals from the meeting will be passed on to appropriate government departments and the union activists' places of work.

* * *

In Rynia near Warsaw on the 28th of this month a 2-day national congress of the founding members of the Federation of Trade Unions of Domestic Commerce Transportation Employees began. Over a hundred delegates from 42 union organizations representing over 12,000 members are taking part in the deliberations.

The first day of the congress was devoted to adopting the final version of the future federation's project, the project of the program declaration and the framework principles of financing.

Trade Union Dilemmas on Control

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 3 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Wojciech Pielecki: "To Demand or to Cogovern?"]

[Text] "The beautiful is born in pain," goes a folk saying. The birth of the present trade unions is not easy, yet their success will not be determined only by the difficult process of coming into this world, although this long period will certainly allow for reflections on what kind of unions they ought to be.

At this point there are 47 founding committees of trade union federations active nationwide; 5 have already been registered, 14 have received permission to start their activities, 28 are awaiting registration. Thus, practically speaking, the first phase of the work is already over. Now the so called prosaic reality and a number of dilemmas which cannot and ought not to be avoided, begin. One of the most important ones is to decide upon the profile of action. The matter is difficult and must be handled with utmost care, after thorough consideration.

At a recent meeting with secretaries of PZPR plant committees, the director of the Central Committee's Social-Trade Section, Stanislaw Gabrielski, made an analysis of the existing union programs. He commented that in the majority of them there are chapters on the necessity of fighting for new material benefits for the employees. This is understandable because living conditions continue to be difficult and no quick improvement will take place. On the other hand, activists of the new unions find themselves under strong pressure of worker needs. However, as the new unions expand and consolidate, we should ask ourselves the question: Is a tough attitude in relation to demands beneficial for the unions themselves? When, because of objective reasons, it will be impossible to realize some of the postulates (the state purse is far from rich), will this not lead to unnecessary loss of credibility and the union's prestige?

It is unquestionable that demands have always been an important if not the main element of every union's activity. Nevertheless, as world experience shows, they should not exceed the employer's possibilities. Simply speaking, exceeding certain limits causes loss of motivation for work, worsens productivity, and in sum leads to degradation of work, because the results bear no relation to the input of effort. In consequence, we all pay for it

with a lower standard of living, inflation, poor quality and market shortages.

I believe this matter is worthy of some consideration because, after all, the reform puts an end to the conception that only the state and the highest authorities ought to be addressed with all social postulates. Yet the post-August wave of demands and postulates originated precisely in that premise, without taking into consideration that even if the state distributes, it can distribute only what we have ourselves made in the sphere of production.

The postulate on talks with the ministries on the subject of new collective structures, new trade charters and sweeping departmental solutions is in many cases just, because there still remain many irregularities which have accumulated over the years. At the same time we must not forget that the basic wealth to be divided is produced in self-governed, independent and self-financing enterprises. Thus we must begin to direct the majority of claims also in the direction of ourselves. For in the basic union matters, not the government and the party, not the Sejm and the State Council, but self-government and management are partners.

The major domain of the unions, everywhere in the world and particularly in socialism (since in a sense we are employers to ourselves), is the concern for employees' living and working conditions. It is a vast area concerning not just wages. It covers culture and worker education, social control, work safety and hygiene, interhuman relations and the shaping of rational social needs, their development, work incentives and finally--the enrichment and meeting of man's spiritual needs. Union education and culture, once rich and full of initiative, today lead a meager existence. Enterprises have liquidated their educational institutions, closed the houses of culture, halted the financing of the activities of various assemblies and creative groups. Here the union claims ought to be not less determined than in the case of wage issues.

Trade unions are treated by the country's highest authorities as partners. The recent session of the PZPR Central Committee's Politburo, the Government Presidium and representatives of the registered federations attests to that. All their just proposals will be realized, but the success of this realization depends on reciprocity. In the BAILDON Steelworks the assurance was given that nobody wants to burden the unions with the responsibility for the effects of managing the economy--this is the domain of someone else. Cogoverning, however, also is work in the sphere of shaping the consciousness. Thus the answer to the question "To demand or to cogovern?" is: "Both."

Functions of Youth Unions

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 3 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by (hl): "What Is New in Youth Unions?"]

[Text] The Youth Commission of the PZPR Provincial Committee at its latest session evaluated the functioning of socialist youth unions. The basis for the evaluation consisted of reports, materials and opinions of 36 echelons, 5 enterprises, 3 schools and 3 selected rural communities. The picture obtained is far from ideal and reveals many imperfections and deficiencies in the activity of youth organizations in our province.

The Union of Socialist Polish Youth in its 1133 locals has over 33,000 members (including 15,000 school youths and 2600 private farmers). The activities of the particular communities are very diversified. There is not much regularity in the implementation of the agreed upon programs, which is true in the OZOS [expansion unknown] and the locals in Korsze, Barczewo, Janow, Kolno, Wielbark, and Olsztynek, among other places. The activity of ZSMP organizations in the worker community is weak. The reason: a lack of conception of the work of enterprise organizations and lack of involvement of the aktiv, which is particularly evident in the ZNTK [expansion unknown] and the Meat Works in Ostroda, WARMIA Clothing Plants in Ketrzyn, SPOMASZ Food Industry Machinery and Equipment Factory in Olsztyn and UNITRA-CEMI Production Semiconductor Center in Szczytno. The commerce, health service and cooperative enterprises remain outside the organization's reach. Only a few locals are active in the PGR.

On the other hand, a visible increase in activism has taken place in the circles of school youth, and in the group of young teachers. Here the ZSMP has scored considerable achievements, which soon ought to bear fruit with concrete results of program activity.

Among the youngest organizations is the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW]. It has been in existence for only 2 years and therefore still has many obstacles to overcome. Currently its 170 locals have over 5,000 members. The most lively activity is displayed by the locals in Nidzica and the Ketrzyn Gmina. Among the biggest problems in this organization is, above all, lack of consistency in the realization of program initiatives. This results from insufficient training and lack of help with organization and topics.

The Union of Polish Scouts [ZHP] organizes over 36,000 children and youth (31 percent in younger scout groups and 11 percent in older scout groups). The activity of the organization is too tightly confined within the school walls (Milakowo, Zalewo, Olsztynek), there are few attractive forms of broader contact with the community (Ketrzyn, Nidzica, Ostroda) and the

prestige of scouting is lacking among older youth (Ostroda, Olsztyn). One can note deviations from the principles of scouting, which cause program impoverishment.

The commission considered as the most worrisome the teachers' lack of interest in the activity of the ZHP. Also the school boards and teacher councils pay insufficient attention to the problems of this organization; in many cases lack of cooperation between scout troop commands and the school boards has been observed (Korsze, Olsztyn, Ostroda).

On the other hand, the fact that membership has stopped declining in grades above the elementary level was considered extremely valuable and positive. Also commendable is the functioning of over 120 community troops, organizing youth from housing colonies. This form of scouting has great possibilities and at the same time is an important element of the organization's activity in places of residence.

The common problem which makes the work of all three organizations difficult is lack of cadres. In some localities the departure of the head of an ZSMP echelon or local results in the total work stoppage of the whole organization. In scouting the function of team leaders is often carried out by pupils from the last grades of elementary school. There are even cases when one teacher, often young and inexperienced, is in charge of two organizations in one school. Something which--the session emphasized--creates poor conditions for a vital activity of either organization's local.

The greatest cadre difficulties are encountered by the ZMW, which practically has no experienced aktiv capable of leading and inspiring the activity of the locals. The union also lacks full time employees, above all in the gminas, which creates program and organizational difficulties.

In the course of the discussion, the representatives of youth unions participating in the commission's session agreed with the evaluation. They quoted, however, examples of a certain animation in the organizations' activities, which has taken place as result of a training action carried out last summer and in recent weeks. ZSMP youth councils have already been formed in the Voivodship Domestic Trade Enterprise (WPHW) and in SPOLEM. In all former county seat towns regional aktiv schools have begun work; their aim is to prepare cadres for program activity and ideological-political training; consultative meetings took place in four PCR communities; increasingly greater attention is being paid to the functioning of the organizations in large workplaces. With the beginning of the new academic year, the ZSMP Provincial Administration will make efforts to intensify action at the Agricultural-Technical Academy (ART), where there is a 200-member local and at the Teachers College (WSP), with a 42-member local. In scouting the emphasis has been placed on training instructors and popularizing attractive forms of activities suitable to the youth's ages and needs. The ZMW is regularly training its aktiv, popularizing health education and developing cultural and educational activity; it also organizes 2-3 day camps which include in their program sports, entertainment and ideological

education. Efforts to organize a provincial aktiv school are under way. A growing number of locals are is being formed in agricultural schools. In connection with the reports campaign, a discussion is developing which will allow enrichment of the current forms of work and permit the working out of conceptions of development and functioning of the ZMW in the whole of the province.

During the discussion, the commission members stressed the necessity of undertaking actions integrating particular unions and developing interorganizational cooperation at all levels. The need to intensify actions aimed at greater participation of youth in the work of self-management organs and in social organizations was postulated.

In summing up the discussion, the commission chairman, PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary Adam Weselak stated that in all youth communities there has been an enlivening of activity. The range of this activity varies in particular communities and sometimes changes do not take place as fast as we would want. Nevertheless there already are positive signs. Once there is an efficient organization with an interesting program, capable of providing help, the young will be drawn to it.

The participants of the commission's session recognized as useful periodic evaluations of the activity of youth unions. They emphasized that such evaluations would have an impact on improved functioning of the organizations and would enable them to work out forms of interorganizational cooperation.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Problems Handled by Party Echelons

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 20 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (sc): "In the Party Echelons--Life Richer Than Plans"]

[Text] The range of problems with which the basic party echelons in Gorzow Province concern themselves is as everywhere else characterized not only by plans for political work but by development of the socioeconomic situation in the sphere of their operation, something which makes it necessary to react promptly to various kinds of negative phenomena and to complaints filed with the committees and secretaries by citizens. The secretaries must often act as the final appeal authority when warnings and intervention with responsible economic or administrative units still too sluggish and indolent in their work are of no avail.

It is precisely for this reason that the KM-G [City-Gmina Committee] in Miedzychod has recently devoted considerable attention to improvement in supply of cheese and cottage cheese for the city. It is especially difficult to understand the shortage of these products because, after all, there is no lack of milk, but for some reason the OSM [District Dairy Cooperative] in Miedzyrzecze is unable to ensure continuity in the marketing of cheese. The City Committee is also trying to resolve the difficulties of the Fruit and Vegetable Processing Plant resulting from "overproduction" of tomatoes. The plant is unable to process them, and so a joint search is under way to find another processing plant to avert spoilage of the tomatoes.

An evaluation of the progress of the harvesting campaign has been made at a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Presidium of the Gmina People's Council and Gmina Committee of the United Peasant Party. On the whole the assessment was positive, but many words of criticism were aimed at the Gmina Cooperative, mainly because of the deteriorating conditions of provision of supplies for citizens in the shops subordinate to this unit. The butcher shop in this locality has been closed, and the only shop in the village of Gudzisz will soon be closed. To halt this socioeconomic recession in the village, the manager has been instructed to draw up a report on the situation in the gmina so that joint action may be taken to energize all spheres of

community life. Since only a few children receive preschool education in this gmina because of lack of space, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] activists have launched the initiative of building a preschool by means of a community project.

In the City Committee in Gorzow preparations are under way for the forthcoming executive session to be devoted to operation of the commercial network in the city. The public in Gorzow is waiting for binding decisions which will act to improve the operation of this system, since this area of the life of the city continues to be the subject of constant, and justified, criticism. Some commercial departments and organizations do not display enough concern and efficiency in improving supply and adapting the operation of the commercial network to the needs of residents; these departments and organizations cite various "objective difficulties" as excuses for shortcomings.

As a result of citizen complaints of failure to comply with the provisions of the law on sobriety training, which have also reached the KM-G in Miedzyrzecze, monitoring and preventive measures have now been undertaken. Among other things, eight drivers who drove to shops during working hours to purchase alcoholic beverages were arrested. Efforts have also been made to improve provision of construction materials and building paper for municipal service and repair enterprises, in order to speed up performance of the most essential repairs to housing, this situation being the most frequent target of complaints by persons dealing with the KM-G, as well as sealing the roofs of many grain warehouses to prevent moisture damage to the crops harvested.

Thus, life is constantly enriching the working plans of the basic party echelons with dozens of new matters and problems, which in most cases require immediate response and action. But if all economic, commercial, and administrative units were to carry out their obligations properly, the proportion of the time devoted by party activists and elements to statutory work would be more favorable.

Wroclaw Plenum on Communications Problems

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 20 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (roj): "Plenum of Wroclaw PZPR Province Committee--Avoidance of Transit System Collapse"]

[Text] A plenary session of the PZPR Province Committee was held in Wroclaw yesterday. This plenum was devoted to communications problems in Wroclaw as broadly defined.

The meeting was preceded by several months of organizational and specialized preparations. During the preparatory period meetings were held at major work-sites, at which many suggestions and proposals were advanced in the course of discussions. Scientific and technical associations were also consulted in the matter. An exhibit was held in the rooms of the NOT [Chief Technical Organization]. The specialists familiarized themselves with materials relating to

Wroclaw also through articles published in our newspaper. In this way the recommendations by specialists were enhanced by comments, proposals, and recommendations made by citizens of Wroclaw. The proceedings were chaired by Province Committee First Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR. The following persons took part in the proceedings: Andrzej Golaszewski, deputy minister of communications; Wacław Kulczynski, deputy director of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee; and Zbigniew Mikulski, department director in the Ministry of Administration and Land Use Management.

A report by the Province Committee Executive Board providing an introduction to the discussion was delivered by Province Committee Secretary Marian Mazur. "Along with housing construction and health care, communications is another major socioeconomic problem to which we want to call the attention of members of the Province Party organization," he stated in his introduction.

The transportation system of Wroclaw is by now obsolete and not capable of meeting emerging needs. Modern developments are missing from it. The mass transit system is inefficient. The inefficiency of the urban transportation system may grow sharply worse unless investment and modernization projects are speeded up considerably. "Figuratively speaking, our city is threatened with collapse," stated M. Mazur. For this reason transit service for the residents of Wroclaw is everywhere a target of social criticism.

The opinion is prevalent among the residents of the city that there is a persistent tendency toward fragmentary, sectional, or even extremely local solutions, with no results achieved on the main transit routes. The causes of this situation are to be sought in the urban area planning system inherited and the historical development conditions, as well as in the lack of a stable development concept for Wroclaw.

However, even now it is difficult to imagine Wroclaw without, for example, the partly built W-Z line, the rebuilt Dzierzynski Square, or the new transit network on Psie Pole. The transit situation in Wroclaw would be even worse without these investment projects.

Despite the activities in progress, there are considerable delays in solving transportation problems in Wroclaw. They manifest themselves in the clogged transportation system, the lack of modern transportation equipment, and the anything but inconsequential supply base of the main carrier in Wroclaw, the MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise].

In recent years the authorities have exerted considerable effort to improve the technical resources of the municipal transportation system and to increase the number and improve the quality of the rolling stock. Deliveries of roomy articulated Icarus buses have improved the structure and have enlarged the bus fleet. The MPK has also obtained new streetcars. A beginning has also been made in improving the condition of the technical facilities of the enterprise. Construction of a bus bar holding 200 vehicles is nearing completion on Obornicka St; it will be placed in service this year. Alteration and modernization of the MPK facilities on Opolska St and Legnicka St are in progress. The streetcar barn on Powstancy Sl. St is to be rebuilt.

However, the needs of the transportation system and municipal transit needs are much greater. And yet the transportation situation of Wroclaw is a complex one. The city is an international and national road junction and is a railroad center of considerable importance. It is situated on the fork of a river, and has civil engineering structures which for the most part are obsolete and in poor condition. The river crossing points are situated in the center of the city. The motor vehicle concentration factor in Wroclaw is 127 passenger automobiles per 1000 residents, as against the national average of 45, and the streets are overloaded and no longer meet the needs of modern traffic.

The transportation situation in Wroclaw is thus complex, and at the same time an extremely difficult one. The currently difficult economic situation and the lack of adequate financial resources call for action. In this context the main principles of transportation policy in Wroclaw must in particular include, first of all, increase in the scope of modernization and organizational work in progress to check the current trend toward decline in transportation service; secondly, initiation of urgently needed transportation investment projects of structural significance which also represent the basis for future development of the metropolitan area; and thirdly, in view of the sensitive nature of the center city in the transportation system, engineering and organizational changes should be made immediately in this area.

There are matters, however, which can be resolved in the municipal transportation system without major expenditures and labor. They include adherence to schedules, greater efficiency in traffic control, more efficient removal of disabled vehicles, and improvement in the appearance of equipment and standards of service. There is a very large volume and range of work, especially of work done to convert the current concentric system to a concentric belt system. There are also many tasks which are not directly related to transportation but which in effect serve to improve it. The authorities of Wroclaw have tried and will continue to try to have these tasks carried out. But help from the central authorities is essential in solving the transportation problems of Wroclaw.

An extremely important moment has arrived in this sensitive area of municipal life, a time for performance. This was asserted by M. Mazur, who added, "In conclusion I should like to offer my heartfelt thanks to all comrades who worked to prepare the materials for this plenum. I should also like to thank all those who organized and conducted the consultation and those who have taken part in the consultations. Thanks to all the residents of Wroclaw who have taken part in the discussion and have made many valuable comments and recommendations."

The group organizing the plenum on the subject of transportation received a total of 35 detailed recommendations and 18 recommendations and comments. They will be examined or forwarded to the institutions concerned, but each of the persons making a recommendation will receive a reply.

Nineteen persons, members of the Province Committee and invited guests, took part in the discussion. The following persons addressed the meeting: Ludwik

Dziwak, work team foreman of FAT [expansion unknown]; Henryk Pacha, OTV [expansion unknown] journalist; Zygmunt Jedryczka, chairman of the Public Utilities, Transportation, and Communications Commission of RNWWiMW [expansion unknown]; Franciszek Trojanowski, PKS [State Motor Transport] dispatcher; Jan Kazior, department head in Wrozamet [Heating Equipment Works]; Piotr Gabrys, first secretary of the Wroclaw-Fabryczna KD [City Section Committee] of the PZPR; Zbigniew Chudy, section chief of the "Lot" Polish Air Lines; Michal Cybulkin, director of the Municipal Transportation and Engineering Research and Planning Office; Leszek Zak, director of the Municipal Planning Office; Alojzy Perchun, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in the MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise]; Jan Tarczynski, director of the Province Area Planning Office; Stefan Mlynarowicz, director of the Province Public Utilities and Municipal Construction Administration; Zbigniew Winkowski, deputy head of the Province Internal Affairs Office; Boguslaw Jankowski, director of the MPK; Eugeniusz Dublewicz, first secretary of the Unitra-Dolam [Lower Silesia Electronic Works] PZPR Plant Committee; Mikolaj Hankiewicz, vice governor of Wroclaw; Mieczyslaw Lewandowski, head of the SIiTK [expansion unknown] Department Administration; Andrzej Golaszewski, deputy minister of transportation; and Waclaw Kulczynski, deputy director of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee.

In conclusion, a resolution was adopted by the PZPR Province Committee in the matter of solving the chief problems relating to improvement and development of the transportation system in Wroclaw. In addition, reports were received on the work of the Province Committee Executive Board and Secretariat over the May-July 1983 period, the work of Province Committee sections over the period from 1 May to 30 June and plans for July through September, and the schedule of Province Committee work during the second half of 1983.

Skierniewice Plenum on Working Women's Problems

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 21 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by (fer): "Difficult Problems of the Working Woman"]

[Text] We have by now become accustomed to hearing more heartfelt words spoken about the impending world of women. Then we hear how resourceful we are, and how resourceful we are in coping with twofold obligations in our daily routine. There are flowers, smiles, and presents. Agreeable and courteous, to be sure. At the same time, at this very moment, without ceremony, the members of the provincial party echelon will debate on selected problems relating to the social and professional situation of the woman in the workplace. That women work in a professional capacity is already an established fact. For many of us there is no other option. The question is how to help such women so that they will be able to cope not with twofold but threefold duties, as mothers, wives, and workers. Let us examine some statistics. Skierniewice Province has more than 401,000 inhabitants, including 150,683 women over 18 years of age. There are 47,000 gainfully employed women; they make up 48.6 percent of the total work force. This number increases if we add to this figure women working part-time and in cottage industries. In short, every other

person employed in the socialized sector of the economy of the province is a woman. Can they afford not to work? Women's earnings are an essential item in the family budget and help to alleviate more than one difficult material situation. But it is no secret to anyone that life is more difficult for women at the present. They spend much more time shopping, and the supply situation necessitates greater effort in putting together the family menu. Let us take a look at the retail trade network. There are 1951 sales outlets in Skierniewice, including 1,395 shops. Each year there are more of them, but even so the number is not sufficient and differs from the national average. Hence plans call for opening 23 new commercial outlets by 1985. Consideration really should also be given to other conveniences for working women, at least workplace kiosks and snack bars where they can buy baked goods, milk, cheese, delicatessen foods, meat products, and candy. A survey of workplace commercial outlets shows that they are not bad, but they vary. It depends largely on the resourcefulness of the shopkeeper whether or not there are goods to be bought in a snack bar, and there is still wide variation in this resourcefulness.

What about services? Do the 258 establishments in the socialized sector of the economy and the 1,595 craftsmen's establishments make things more convenient in life? We find that the volume of tailoring and hairdressing services should be increased, and that there are too few household appliance repair shops, laundries, and beauty parlors. There is much to be done in this area as well.

But a description of the social and occupational situation of the working woman would be incomplete without mention of the problem of health care for working women. We have plant and interplant dispensaries, preventive research, and efficiently operating women's clinics. In the majority of workplaces jobs involving light physical work are assigned to pregnant women, and at five plants there are departments in operation which have protected work environments.

We know that the working mother needs help. Is the number of spaces in preschool adequate? Spaces have not been found for nearly 1200 children in the 104 preschools and 317 preschool departments in operation in this province. There is a shortage of preschool spaces especially in urban areas. On the other hand, care for school-age children was better during the last school vacation period. Every child who expressed a wish to participate in organized forms of recreation had a space reserved for him at the summer camps and summer play centers.

There are many problems associated with occupational employment of women. They will be discussed at today's plenum of the PZPR Province Committee. It will not be the first discussion in such an important forum. But the important thing is that the decisions made and the courses of action adopted, as formulated in the resolution, should mobilize the pertinent institutions and organizations to concern themselves among other things with broken families and mothers rearing children by themselves. Improvement in the commercial network and services and better care by the health service are urgent tasks to be dealt with both today and tomorrow.

Krakow Factory Plenum

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by (wm): "The Party's Function is Not Just to Pass Resolutions But to Carry Out Its Decisions"]

[Text] For the 16th time now during the current term, members of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Lenin Iron and Steel Works have met in plenary session. They have met in order to assess, toward the end of the term, the extent of implementation of the resolutions passed by the plant organization. As was pointed out by Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee, when resolutions are passed, it is expected that they will be carried out.

It was found that the plant party organization, made up to the extent of nearly 90 percent of persons who previously performed no party functions and to the extent of 50 percent of workers, had done quite good work over the period just past, which was a difficult one not just at the Lenin Iron and Steel Works. The tasks assigned in the organization's own resolutions and those of higher echelons were completed on schedule. This fact was stressed, by the way, by one of the persons participating in the discussion, Stanislaw Nowak, who stated that persons previously unfamiliar with day-to-day party organizational work coped with it very well. But they also acquired authority as result of democratic elections; the outcome is that the prestige of the comrades elected in this way was much greater than in the case of rubber stamp elections.

Many of the persons taking part in the discussion emphasized that, during the period in which the activities of other organizations were suspended, the party performed the function of appeal authority for nonmembers of the party as well. However, Wladyslaw Kaczmarek, PZPR Krakow Committee secretary who took part in the proceedings of the meeting, while commenting favorably on the fact that the party organization has been solving the problems of all persons employed at the Lenin Iron and Steel Works, called attention to another aspect of this matter, that if the party has to intervene, someone at a work station or in an office (possibly a party member) has failed to meet his obligations. So in addition to correcting errors and omissions, it is necessary to eliminate the sources of them. It has long been known that the party has many opponents at the Lenin Iron and Steel Works, but Wacław Matoga, who spoke during the plenary discussion, characterized them not as ideological opponents but as carping critics. An opponent can engage in sober discussion and advance arguments, while these carpers merely talk loudly, generally opposing everything without being able to offer a positive program. It would obviously be an error to underestimate these carping adversaries, but too much importance should not be attached to their vociferous behavior.

Trade union matters were also dealt with during the discussion. Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee, while stressing that the majority--more than 90 percent--of the tasks assigned to the plant organization in the resolutions have been accomplished, pointed out that only one of the items in the resolution of the last reporting and election conference

still remained to be disposed of, that item being "coming to terms with Solidarity." Despite the efforts made in this direction in 1981 by the PZPR Factory Committee, through no fault of the party organization it has not been possible to carry out this item. At the present time the Lenin Iron and Steel Works is one of the few plants in Poland where about 50 percent of the party members have joined the new trade unions. "We will pass no resolution ordering party members to join the trade unions," asserted Miniur. "For us to be consistent, if such a resolution were to be passed, every party member who was not in a union would have to leave the party."

This is a fact. It is not a question, after all, merely of institutional membership but of proper action. Wladyslaw Stelmach observed during the discussion that in many departments of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works party members who do not belong to its governing body are taking a wait-and-see position: "Since you did not elect me, I will not budge." And, after all, the managing director himself of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works is not a member of the PZPR Factory Committee, but this has no adverse effect at all on cooperation between the political leadership and the management of the complex. I have a reason for stressing these statements made in the discussion in connection with the party elections. The example of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works can be used to demonstrate that democratic elections rather than application of the rubber stamp approach permit establishment of proper contact between the party and society and enhancement of the prestige of the PZPR.

Krakow City District Plenum

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by (rat): "The Economic Reform: A Concern of the Party and of Us All."]

The plenary session yesterday of the Krakow City [Srodmiestcie] District Committee of the PZPR was devoted to assessment of the efficiency of operation of the City Center party organization in implementing the economic policy of the party.

In his address initiating the discussion, Jerzy Pietruszka, secretary of the PZPR City District Committee, analyzed the economic results of City Center enterprises over the last 7 months. The results indicate further economic stabilization and steady, although still too slow, increase in production and efficiency of management.

Over the last 7 months the value of industrial output sold has increased 0.5 percent. This is not a high rate of growth, but it has been affected by the circumstance that 13 important City Center enterprises recorded a decline in production. In the remaining 83 industrial units output increased, and at the same time there was a decrease in employment. Unfortunately, in the majority of enterprises it was not possible to maintain a rational relationship between production growth and increased use of the wage fund and between growth of labor productivity and increase in average wages: while production increased

on the average only by 0.5 percent, the wage fund increased by 27 percent. Similarly, an increase of labor productivity on the average by 4.2 percent was accompanied by an average increase in monthly wages of 3,235 zlotys, or 32 percent.

Many enterprises, among them construction and assembly, transportation, service, and certain industrial enterprises, achieved good economic and financial results. Emphasis is nevertheless placed on the fact that this is due less to lowering of costs and improvement in management efficiency than to the policy of enterprises of raising prices. An audit revealed an excessive rate of return from application of contractual prices, as well as a number of irregularities in setting official and regulated prices.

Much attention was also devoted at the meeting to the process of introducing the economic reform. Although--it was stated--profit and loss accounting is more and more often employed and incentive systems are increasing the material interest of employees in the economic results, there is still too little understanding of the principles of the reform, and introduction of the reform is an uneven process. Discussion was also devoted to the process of resumption of activities by the worker self-government organizations. Worker councils have begun activities at 57 City Center worksites, out of the 72 at which they have been authorized. An analysis was also made of the status of implementation of counterinflation and conservation programs by enterprises.

A resolution was adopted in the matter of the effectiveness of action of the City Center party organization in implementing the economic policy of the party. Among other things, the resolution stresses the need for further work to improve the living conditions of society and to effect rapid emergence from the crisis, achievements which depend on increase in production, improvement in labor productivity, better use of raw materials, and lowering of production costs.

Tadeusz Nowicki, director of the Economic Department of the PZPR Krakow Committee, attended the meeting, the chairman of which was Ryszard Borowiecki, first secretary of the PZPR City District Committee.

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IMPORTANCE OF AIR SUPPORT IN COMBAT OPERATIONS DESCRIBED

Raid-Maneuver Operations

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU
in Polish No 2, Feb 82 pp 5-8

[Article by Wojciech Michalak: "Aviation in Raid-Maneuver Operations by Ground Forces"]

[Text] The most characteristic traits of modern military operations are the execution of combat activities along a wide front or a given axis, great troop mobility, continuous reinforcement by fresh troops as well as a large number of nuclear-missile systems and the possibility of acting against the enemy's entire rear area disposition of forces. Thus the success of an offensive operation will depend to a large degree upon depriving the enemy of his ability to take advantage of the possibilities mentioned above and, above all, eliminating the strike capabilities of his nuclear missile systems while the combat situation is still limited to a conventional warfare phase. This requires finding new forms and methods of troops use that will soften the cohesion of the enemy's dispositions over his entire area (for example, by destroying targets or elements of the enemy dispositions that can ensure enemy troop survivability and combat value). These requirements, based on the experiences of previous wars, have brought about the re-emergence in modern combat of raiding units and operational march groups. The latter are derived from so-called rapid groups, i.e., the type of armored groups that were commonly used by the Soviet army during World War Two.

A common feature of the actions of operational march groups and raiding units is their isolation from friendly main forces and their infiltration of the enemy's rear areas to conduct intermittent combat tasks within his positions. Thus, they perform their missions while considerably isolated from the friendly main forces but are always coordinated with them and are at their disposition. Such troops are mainly intended for destroying nuclear-missile groupings, command posts, radioelectronic warfare and antiaircraft defense [OPL] centers, hindering enemy troop withdrawal, delaying or neutralizing the arrival of enemy reserves from outside the area of operations, neutralizing enemy logistical systems, controlling and holding important regions and targets until the friendly main forces arrive and also for executing various other combat missions.

Analysis of the operating conditions of operational maneuver groups and raiding units shows that they are subject to systematic counter-attacks by enemy ground forces, LMB [fighter-bomber aviation], and attack helicopters. Furthermore, while conducting combat, they must be able to resupply if needed, be reinforced with fresh troops and equipment and evacuate their wounded. Moreover, they should obtain full and current information on the activities of enemy troops and, especially, determine the targets of planned enemy strikes.

The fighting conditions of operational maneuver groups and raiding units, their need for support and protection, which is considerably larger than that required by the first-echelon troops of the main forces, their great diversity and the importance of their missions make it a foregone conclusion that it is necessary to provide them with comprehensive air support.

Variants for Using Army Aviation in Support of Raid-Maneuver Operations

Assessment of the real needs of troops fighting to break off from the friendly main forces and analysis of the possibilities for using aviation to support those units show that army aviation (LWL) must take a large role in combat missions. The skillful and efficient use of aviation determines whether raid and maneuver actions by ground forces will be successful. Within this context, there have emerged three concepts for using army aviation to support raid and maneuver troops. In the first concept, the detached army aviation forces should be temporarily attached to an operational maneuver group or raiding unit, infiltrate the area of enemy dispositions with them and jointly execute combat missions. The "air echelon" of this formation should contain both attack and multi-purpose helicopters (including helicopters equipped with special communications equipment and adaptable for commanding troops from the air). A helicopter combat composition of this sort directly attached to support troops fighting to achieve a breakout from the main forces makes it easier to react quickly to changes of situation and reduces the amount of time spent calling in air support from the battlefield. This arrangement also enables a concentration of effort on executing the most important tasks in a specific tactical situation. Under these conditions, helicopters, thanks to their aviation-combat properties, may systematically overwatch gaps, open flanks and troops rear areas, ambush enemy troops in their most vulnerable positions and even engage small enemy forces that may have infiltrated friendly troop positions. Such actions by helicopters increases the combat capabilities of troops conducting raid and maneuver actions and may also increase the rate of advance by the main ground forces.

The number of combat composition of helicopters assigned to act jointly with operational maneuver groups or raiding units in the enemy rear areas depend upon:

--the nature and type of combat missions conducted by the raid and maneuver units;

--the planned duration of their combat missions and the distance from the main forces at which they are to operate;

--the general operational and tactical situation and the compositions and actions of the enemy forces;

--the ability to detach specific forces and resources of LWL [army aviation];

--terrain and the forecasted atmospheric conditions in the area of combat;

--the ability of ground and air forces to support helicopter actions.

Considering the last factor, it must be said that comprehensive support of helicopter combat activity is, as a rule, the primary condition determining whether or not LWL units can be attached to support ground units involved in raid or maneuver operations. Helicopters that are based in the area of enemy positions and active there will be systematically threatened by fire from enemy ground forces and ground-based antiaircraft fire. They can also be attacked by enemy aircraft and attack helicopters while aloft and on the ground. For that reason, precise and continuous protection of helicopter combat actions must be a shared concern of the ground forces and their detached ground-based LWL support units. In connection with this, it must be understood that it is an absolute necessity that subunits of the ground forces constantly defend helicopter landing strips from enemy strikes on the ground and from the air and also provide necessary help in the form of OPBMar [defense against wars destruction weapons], concealment, medical, logistical, airfield and other support. Without this sort of support, many helicopters would be lost, which would, in turn, seriously limit the combat capabilities of units attempting to break out from the main forces.

Reconsidering the first concept, it must be stressed that, along with its advantages, it also entails many risks. Despite the comprehensive support that it can provide to ground units, considerable helicopter losses must be expected even under conditions of tactical and operational air superiority that, in itself, is a primary factor determining the capabilities of ground units operating within enemy positions. Some other shortcomings of the concept just discussed are:

--the specific combat limitations of helicopters, especially their range, that effect their performance of actions in support of the units to which they are attached rather than the entire zone of ground forces actions;

--the necessity of attaching aviation ground-support units to those operating within enemy positions. These ground-support units are innately immobile and are thus quite limited in their maneuverability (especially in refitting helicopters for subsequent sorties);

--the need for frequent helicopter rebasing and the difficulty of choosing proper terrain in which to locate their landing strips, both of which are the result of the fast tempo of operations by units conducting raids and their relatively constricted positions;

--the use of helicopter air transport to supply subunit with ammunition, rockets, fuel and other logistical support necessary for maintaining unit combat readiness.

The second concept of LWL support to ground units operating in enemy positions envisages that helicopters will perform tasks on the basic principles of support (for example LMB or LMSz [ground-attack aviation]). The advantages and disadvantages of such operations by helicopters are different from those involved in the first concept. It must, however, be emphasized that LWL operations under such conditions are difficult and sometimes altogether impossible since the combat actions of operational maneuver groups and raiding units are eventually conducted at distances beyond the possible ranges of combat helicopters. Furthermore, helicopters can suffer large losses from enemy ground-based antiaircraft systems during continuous flights to supply the units behind enemy positions and on their return flights to bases located within positions held by first-echelon tactical large units [brigades, divisions, corps] of the main ground forces. Helicopter operations of this sort in support of raid-and-maneuver units can take place only when those units have advanced a small distance ahead of the main forces and when enemy antiaircraft and ground forces have been very strongly suppressed.

The third concept combines selected elements of the first two. This means that helicopters are now to be based within the positions of the main ground forces and must support the units conducting raid and maneuver operations, especially at the beginning of their mission. Later and at especially decisive moments, the helicopters, after having completed their given missions, land within the dispositions of the raid-and-maneuver units, are refitted for subsequent sorties and then conduct joint combat actions against enemy positions with the units to which they are now attached. Depending upon the needs of the situation, helicopters remained attached to these units until they are joined by the main forces or they return to their original bases by a specified time.

This concept alleviates or eliminates some of the disadvantages inherent in the preceding concepts and seems to be the best method for using army aviation to support operational maneuver groups or raiding units. However, it would be rash to discard either of the other variants of air support since the specific operational or tactical situation should, as usual, govern the choice of variant to be used.

Air Missions to Support Units on Raid and Manuever Operations

When operational maneuver groups or raiding units are conducting operations within enemy positions, only aviation is able to support them with fire strikes (although rocket troops can sometimes do this, too), conduct air

reconnaissance and execute other missions as the need arises. Regardless of what army aviation does, other types of aviation will be performing specific tasks to support the ground units. Missions will be planned within a given allotment of sorties by the ground unit commanders or by higher levels of command.

Air combat missions in support of units fighting in advance of the main forces may be generally divided into two phases:

- supporting the approach of the ground units and their entry into combat;
- operations within the area of enemy dispositions.

In the first phase, aviation should ensure the safe regrouping of these troops from their area of deployment to their point of combat and, along with the artillery of the main forces, permit them rapid entry into any breakthroughs made in the enemy positions. The following must be considered important aviation missions:

1. Covering the troops of an operational maneuver group or raiding unit against enemy reconnaissance or air strikes. This is performed by LM [fighter aviation] in cooperation with ground-based antiaircraft units within the structure of the ground forces' general antiaircraft system.
2. Direct reconnaissance and destruction of tactical nuclear weapon delivery systems, tube and rocket artillery, long-range surface mining facilities, armed helicopters on landing strips and other elements of positions that can be used to oppose friendly troops on raid and maneuver operations. The missions above are executed by LRT [tactical reconnaissance aviation], LMB and LMSz. Furthermore, the reconnaissance-liaison and assault helicopters themselves should seek out and destroy fire facilities deployed in key points of resistance and other enemy targets in the area of entry of the raid and maneuver units (for example, tanks, armored personnel carriers, antitank weapons, etc.).
3. Command regrouping units from the air, reconnoiter roads along the march route, observe artillery fire, jam enemy radioelectronic facilities and perform other specialized tasks that may arise within the given combat situation. These missions are performed by helicopters.

In the second phase of the breakout operation (development of the command), the troops of the operational maneuver group and raiding unit should not become engaged in protracted fighting with the enemy, but, using movement and maneuver, neutralize selected targets with bold and sudden strikes and constantly fight to achieve the planned goals of their combat operations. The main tasks of this phase of operations are:

1. Cover these troops against enemy reconnaissance and air strikes, especially at moments crucial to the success of the plan. This is done by LM in conjunction with the ground-based antiaircraft facilities of the ground units on raid and maneuver missions.

2. Air reconnaissance of enemy troops and positions that are the planned targets of attack by the raid and maneuver units or that are threatening those units. This mission is executed by LRT and reconnaissance-liaison helicopters.

3. Provide direct support to the raid and maneuver units. The assault helicopters overwatch open flanks and rear areas for these units and, in conjunction with LMB and LMSz that can be, as a rule, called in when needed, neutralize enemy troops and targets hindering the operations of the friendly units here, disorganize the withdrawal of enemy troops before attacks by the raiding unit, neutralize counterattacks from enemy reserves, destroy previously-designated elements of nuclear weapon delivery systems and perform other tasks that may be needed by friendly units.

4. Provide direct support to the raid and maneuver troops. LMB and LMSz neutralizes enemy reserves that oppose friendly units that are conducting raids, maneuvering or trying to hold important areas or targets, destroy enemy helicopters on the ground, nuclear weapon missile-delivery systems, command posts, etc.

5. Air-land airborne units that are either directly attached to the raid and maneuver units or to the main ground forces supporting the former. In this instance, airplanes or transport helicopters air-land these troops and LMB (LMSz), LM, LRT and, if necessary, assault helicopters provide transport and landing and combat support.

6. Deliver material and implement other transport tasks. Air transport supplies raid and maneuver units with fuel, ammunition, rockets and other material resources. Fresh troop reinforcements and equipment are delivered as needed and the wounded are evacuated.

7. Provide command from the air to units operating in advance of the main forces, provide smoke cover, land mining, correct artillery fire and perform other such specialized tasks as required by the situation and the troop needs.

The given air missions that are performed while troops are operating within enemy positions and in advance of the main forces are shown in Figure 2.

Aside from unmentioned services provided by aviation in direct support of friendly troops operating within enemy dispositions, the air support given to the main forces has a positive effect on the fighting of the former ground troops. Aviation is most able effectively to support and protect operational maneuver groups and raiding units operating in advance of main forces. However, they have to operate under difficult conditions. Aviation missions require much organizational preparation and studies on improving the use of air support to raid and maneuver troops

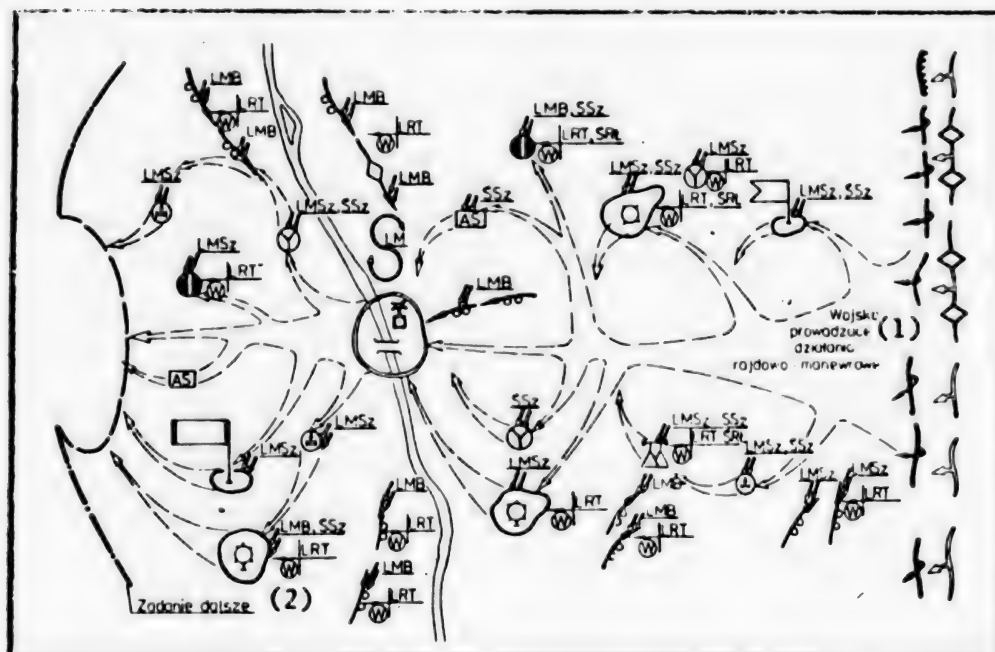


Figure 2. Selected tasks for aviation during combat by raid and maneuver units in enemy positions.

Key:

- (1) Troops conducting raid and maneuver operations
- (2) Subsequent missions

Amphibious Assault Operations

Warsaw PRZEGLĄD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU
in Polish No 5, May 82 pp 11-14

[Article by Col Aleksander Musiał: "The Role of Strike Aviation in Support of Amphibious Assault Landing Forces"]

[Text] The use of amphibious and airborne landings is the most effective method for landing troops to control estuaries, bays, islands, naval bases, seaports and other important targets on enemy coastal areas.

During World War Two, specific air forces were used to support landings and operations of even small amphibious forces. Under those conditions, aviation provided the main source of firepower capable of effectively supporting the landings.

Under conditions of modern warfare, when armies have great firepower to oppose amphibious and air landings, the role of air support to landings has not kept pace. The success of assault-landing operations will be determined above all by the degree to which enemy antiaircraft and antilanding systems are neutralized, by strong air cover given landings, fire support for the landing operations and support provided the landing troops once they have already landed.

All types of aviation will take part in landing support missions but the important role will be taken by strike aviation.

In the postwar period, the improvement of amphibious assault landing operations gave rise to a tendency to use combined landings. These are characterized by airborne assault-landing forces in helicopters or dropped by parachute preceding the amphibious landings. Air operations in support of such combined landings are considerably more complicated both in organization and in the execution of combat operations. Combined assault landings are a complex of coordinated and interconnected (in terms of their targets, area of operations and time) operations by combat ground forces, air-landing forces, marines, aviation and anti-aircraft units that are conducted according to a single goal and plan for landing assault-landing troops on enemy-occupied territory so that they can execute their assigned combat tasks.

Strike aviation forces in support of these landings and combat methods will depend mainly upon the composition of the landing forces, the stages of landing operations, the order in which they are performed and basic indicators of the impetus of landing operations. For example, during the Kerch landings in World War Two, air combat missions were implemented in three stages: 1. preparation for the landings (preliminary strikes); 2. the approach and landing of the amphibious assault force (preparatory fire); 3. combat by landed amphibious-assault force (fire support).

Under conditions of modern warfare, strike aviation forces in support of amphibious-assault forces will participate in nuclear as well as comprehensive fire strikes against the enemy by conventional weapons. In combat operations conducted with the use of only conventional weapons, aviation may execute its tasks in four stages:

- supporting the concentration, loading and sea transport of the amphibious assault landing force;
- preparation for the amphibious assault force landing;
- supporting the landing;
- supporting the advancing troops after they have landed.

Air strikes in support of amphibious troop concentration, loading and transport will be mainly concerned with destroying air bases and enemy aircraft on the ground and in the air, ships at port and in naval strike forces at sea, and the enemy antiaircraft systems. These strikes should be performed in such a way as to keep the enemy system of defenses against amphibious and air landings suppressed until the landings have begun. At the same time, strike aviation units would have to be able to participate fully in preparation fire for the amphibious assault landings after they have refitted for subsequent sorties.

Air preparation for amphibious assault landings consists of destroying and neutralizing targets in the antilanding defenses that can oppose the landings from their line of deployment into their combat disposition of forces. The main effort should be concentrated on combat against targets such as tactical rocketry, coastal artillery, attack helicopter units as well as strongpoints and enemy troops located within the planned landing sectors. The greatest effects during air preparation for the amphibious landings can be achieved when it is executed over the entire area of the enemy's antilanding defenses before the assault forces are landed on the coast with the immediate transfer of air to direct support of the landing.

Air support to a landing is most effective when it accompanies the approach of the first landing wave to the enemy beaches. During this phase, air units and subunits should first destroy nuclear weapons, approaching reserves of the enemy and fire that directly opposes the landing units during their landing and seizure of a beachhead. Aside from the discussed objectives, strike aviation may destroy enemy ships attacking the amphibious units in the area of their landings (rocket ships, torpedo boats).

After the amphibious assault force has landed, strike aviation switches over to direct support as needed by the advancing troops. During this stage, air support is called in from the battlefield and again attacks enemy targets that are opposing the advancing troops. It should be added that once the landing troops have taken control of small areas and objectives, direct air support can be set aside.

The execution of combat tasks by strike aviation during landing operations requires careful preparation. This entails comprehensive planning, organization and consideration of combat activities by commands, staffs, party and political organs and rear elements.

Preparation for combat actions generally entails certain decisions made by the appropriate air commander, the working out of a plan of actions by his staff, assigning combat missions to individual units, preparing the execution of assigned missions, extensive party and political work and realization of comprehensive support and command of combat activities.

During the organization of combat actions, coordination of every aspect of cooperation between aviation and the amphibious landing forces is very important. The best results are obtained when joint actions in particular stages of the landing operation are coordinated. These include the embarkation of troops and combat gear onto landing craft, sea transport, the amphibious assault and the execution of missions by the landing troops on the beach.

The main principles in the organization of coordinated actions are: the exchange of information about the enemy, determining tasks and methods for joint action, methods of assigning targets, use of landing strips, command points on board ships, and the search and rescue of airplane crews at sea.

Coordinated principles of action should be given form in appropriate documents (plans, planning tables). During the actual combat activities, the necessary condition for consistent coordinated action is that these principles be strictly obeyed at all times, depending on changes in the situation at sea, on land and in the air.

Strike aviation's execution of combat during an amphibious assault landing operation involves air strikes by respective groups of airplanes against enemy targets. This can be done in various ways. The principle methods are concentrated and projected strikes. The choice of method above all depends upon what strike aviation forces are available, the given tactical situation, the degree of combat readiness of aviation units and subunits, and the amount of time available.

For purposes of providing air support to the concentration, embarkation, and sea transport of the amphibious assault landing forces, as well as during preparation of the landing itself, concentrated air strikes are usually used. These strikes are most often started by a previously-designated signal that is coordinated with the time of the landing. The flight paths to strike targets, altitudes and air speeds are determined in advance. The air units usually consist of strike groups and various combat support groups (according to the needs of the task).

In supporting an amphibious assault landing, the effort is concentrated on destroying (neutralizing) enemy targets that pose a direct threat to the attacking assault subunits. Air strikes by aviation units and subunits are for the most part called in with the mission frequently determined in flight. In order to reduce the time needed to call in air support (once the landing troops have started their attack upon enemy coastal positions), strike groups are assigned to air duty zones that are beyond the range of enemy antiaircraft defenses.

Air support given to subsequent combat by the landing is implemented according to the calculated call-in time and the development of the situation.

The success and effectiveness of air strikes in an amphibious assault operation depends to a large degree upon a properly-organized chain of command. Rapid communication and exchange of information on sorties is essential, especially during air support of the landing and the execution of strikes called in from the battlefield. This requires the frequent communication of air commands to several command points while they are aloft, the retargeting of reappearing enemy targets, assigning targets to specific groups of aircraft in flight, and then directing strike groups to the revealed targets. Great possibilities for exercising command are associated with using in-air command points which would have two-way communications with the headquarters of the amphibious landing commander, the landing forces, the respective air command posts, and with the command posts of aviation tactical formations and units participating in support of the landing.

In summation, strike aviation performs a series of complex combat missions during all stages of the amphibious assault landing operation. Aviation has exceptionally difficult tasks to perform during the landing and beginning phase of the battle on the beach. The situation undergoes very rapid changes during this phase and all elements of the command system do not always function completely. Therefore, effective execution of the tasks assigned to strike aviation above all demand a high degree of combat readiness, the use of unorthodox methods, precise organization of cooperation with the landing troops and the other arms of aviation and combat that are involved in the amphibious assault landing operation.

Operational Maneuver Group Operations

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU
in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 82 pp 9-14

[Article by Col Aleksander Musial: "The Actions of Combat Aviation in Support of Operational Maneuver Groups"]

[Text] In recent theoretical considerations of offensive operations, especially in the western theater, there has been an intense search for methods of using the great destructive power of fire that is available to modern armies for rapid attainment of operational goals.

Theoretical and practical considerations have been for some time directed above all at increasing the technical and tactical capabilities of maneuver troops so that they can attain a high rate of advance, use fire strikes (nuclear) and accomplish their assigned missions in a short period of time.

As a result of these considerations, there have appeared new concepts for creating special operational maneuver groups as a qualitatively new element of the battle array of operational groups.

Operational maneuver groups are intended for exploiting the successes of the main forces, conducting highly-mobile raid activities within the operational defense area of the enemy in order to destroy his nuclear

attack facilities, prevent enemy maneuver and hold off the approach of his reserves, attacking the flanks and rear areas of his main unit grouping, and seizing airfields, supply bases and other important targets, regions and territorial boundaries in the enemy's rear area.

Operational maneuver groups are usually organized well before the start of offensive operations or during them and consist of elements drawn from the first and second operational echelons. They are usually deployed into combat following achievement of a breakthrough in the enemy's defenses once the conditions allow maneuver actions and the directions have been determined in which the enemy does not possess strong forces. Conducting actions at high speed is what most often makes it possible for the maneuver groups to perform their tasks independently in enemy zones some distance removed from the main friendly forces.

The success of these actions will largely depend upon their proper introduction into the battle, effective fire support and cover against enemy air strikes. This is especially important if combat is being conducted using only conventional methods. The above can be provided using forces that are organic components of the given operational maneuver group as well as the forces and units available to an operational large unit [army, army group, front, front group]. However, rocket and artillery troops, aviation, and antiaircraft units will be decisive factors.

Frontal [tactical] and army aviation will be entrusted with important tasks at all stages of actions by operational maneuver groups. The type and dimension of tasks facing aviation will be determined by the specific nature of actions undertaken by the maneuver groups. An important factor is the fact that these groups will be operating isolated and at great distances ahead of the friendly main forces. Under these conditions, aviation will become one of the main fighting resources capable of effectively supporting such actions. The properties of actions conducted by operational maneuver groups also have an effect upon the conditions under which aviation performs its missions.

In considering the first offensive operation, directly following the start of military actions and the repulsion of the enemy attack, the counterattack will begin and the most favorable moment for using an operational maneuver group will be when it is introduced to battle following establishment of a breakthrough in the enemy defenses and the defeat of his first-echelon main forces. This means that the operational maneuver group may be brought into action during the second day of combat, that is, once air superiority is or has already been established. The attainment of air superiority and disruption of the enemy antiaircraft defenses are important factors to the success of an operational maneuver group and to the freedom of action by friendly aviation.

The high tempo of attack by an operational maneuver group and its operation well in advance of the main forces requires that strike aviation be assured of proper basing so that it will have a sufficient radius of action. Therefore, it is very important to have a proper network of airfields, change their locations at the right time so as to assure continual air support, and set up the best groupings of operational aviation.

When an operational maneuver group is operating well in advance of the main forces, fighter aviation also becomes limited in its possibilities. Fighter combat air patrol directly over the operational areas of the maneuver group is also limited. Aside from this, the activity of fighter aviation takes place largely beyond the range of radar cover and vectoring. That has a significant effect upon their ability to intercept targets in the air. Furthermore, fighters are threatened here more than over friendly terrain by enemy ground-based antiaircraft weapons. Therefore, it is necessary that various different methods be found for using fighter aviation because the principle ones used to cover actions by the main ground forces are very costly and ineffective when applied to operational maneuver groups.

The gap that is formed between the main forces and the operational maneuver group during combat makes it impossible to reinforce the latter directly by ground, supply it or evacuate the wounded and sick. It should be said at this point that there will be a great need for the above and that these tasks will need to be met by transport aviation. For that reason, the problem of systematic interception of air fields by the operational maneuver groups and the preparation of them for use as transport plane landing strips becomes very important since the system of drops made from aircraft and the landing of helicopters on quickly-prepared airstrips is limited by the transport capacities of these aircraft. Transport missions will without doubt be one of the most important series of tasks performed by aviation, especially during the final stage of operations by maneuver groups when the shortage of combat materials and logistical supplies will dramatically increase.

This means that airplanes and transport helicopters will be working hard to support these groups and will be flying long distances over enemy territory to perform these missions. Enemy antiaircraft weapons will have to be dealt with despite the fact that the operational maneuver group will clear a flight-approach corridor for air transport aviation.

The dynamics and fluid character of actions by an operational maneuver group, lack of clear-cut lines of contact with the enemy, the confusion of friendly troops with enemy troops and the large areas over which actions take place make it difficult for strike aviation to identify friendly units, to locate strike targets and to retarget other objectives. All of this requires proper organization of air command and coordination with the operational maneuver group. This problem had already emerged in the Soviet Army during World War Two during air support of the so-called rapid groups. The problem was solved then by attaching as support or by

operationally subordinating them to the commander of the rank army operating as a "rapid group." The headquarters of such a group contained an air command post operated by the commander of the attached tactical air forces. On the other hand, in corps, general-combat (tank) divisions, and independent units, there were air representatives present with communications equipment. As experience has shown, this brought about a growth in the expertise of air command, and assured the continuity of action against the enemy and improved the effectiveness of combat actions.

The most characteristic of the discussed properties of actions by operational maneuver groups and the resulting conditions under which aviation is used determine the type of missions performed by frontal [tactical] aviation and army aviation and also the methods to be employed. Theoretical views and the conclusions drawn from experience show the appropriateness of using [tactical] aviation to support operational maneuver groups within an assigned allotment and the possibility of temporarily subordinating certain units, especially helicopters, that are part of the front's [two or more armies] air forces. Regardless of this, operational maneuver groups will be using the friendly organic forces of army aviation and the air units of the front, in performing the general tasks of that front, will have a direct effect upon the operations of these maneuver groups.

In connection with this, air combat actions in support of operational maneuver groups can be reduced to three types of missions. They are: air missions performed according to the front's plans, missions performed by the front's air units that are decided by the commander of the operational maneuver group within the allotment given him, and missions performed by aviation that is organically part of the given group and is temporarily assigned to it.

The general front tasks that effect the actions of the operational maneuver group are:

- covering that group from enemy air strikes and air reconnaissance;
- destroying enemy aircraft on the ground and in the air close to its bases;
- seeking and destroying enemy nuclear missile delivery systems;
- destroying and neutralizing enemy operational reserves;
- conducting air reconnaissance.

The main tasks of front aviation which are performed according to the plan of the operational maneuver group's commander within the allotment of air units given him may be:

- air support of the operational maneuver group;
- landing and supporting tactical air-landings;

--conducting air reconnaissance;

--transport missions.

The missions performed by subordinated aviation (mainly helicopter units) and the air units that are organically part of the operational maneuver group are:

--air support of tank and motor-rifle divisions;

--landing tactical airborne units;

--transporting troops, combat gear and material supplies;

--supporting the combat actions of the operational maneuver group (battlefield reconnaissance, correcting artillery fire and providing engineering and chemical support);

--providing command and communications.

In examining the group of missions performed according to the front plan, it can be said that the methods by which they are executed are principally no different from the methods used in the performance of missions supporting the troops of the operational first echelon since these are general front tasks and as such, they have an effect, relative to the situation, to a greater or lesser degree on the action of the operational maneuver group. The only exception to this is a cover mission, where relative to the stage of operations by the maneuver group, the methods used by fighter aircraft will change radically.

It can be accepted as a principle that covering an operational maneuver group in its staging area and during its entry into battle and combat up until it breaks out from the main forces will be performed above all by implementing air duty by fighter groups above friendly territory. This is dictated by the possibility of using a radiolocational field of detection, guidance to air targets and by still-sufficient territorial possibilities. The possibilities grow less as the operational maneuver group becomes more separated from the main forces. For that reason, the actions of fighter aviation must be taken into the zone of the enemy in order to be effective. Thus, it becomes necessary to use and look for new and more effective fighter methods. Above all, attention must be given to improving independent search and engagement of air targets and making use of all possible radiolocational resources available to the operational maneuver group. A series of fighter methods in enemy zones should be part of the new demands, and especially methods for combing air space, sweeping it of enemy aircraft, operating out of barrier zones as well as destroying enemy aircraft in the air in the area of his airfields and on the ground at the airfields.

Within the group of missions that are planned by the commander of the operational maneuver group within the allotment given him and performed by front air units, air support of the maneuver group contains qualitatively new elements. It is the component for comprehensive fire against the enemy. It is organized by stages respective of the actions performed by the maneuver group. These stages may be:

--air support for the operational maneuver group's move from its staging area to the area of deployment;

--air preparation for the attack;

--air support for the attack;

--accompanying the advancing troops of the operational maneuver group.

Air missions during the first stage will most often amount to executing separate concentrated strikes in good time against the most dangerous particular long-range firing weapons that can act against troops of an operational maneuver group that is far enough removed from the front line. These are, above all, nuclear attack weapons, long-range artillery batteries, rocket artillery, aircraft on airfields and assault helicopters.

During the second stage, aviation should concentrate its efforts on detected targets in the tactical and close-lying operational area. Nuclear attack weapons, close airfields, helicopters on airfields, resistance points, tactical reserves, artillery, antiaircraft weapons and command points should be destroyed by concentrated group air strikes.

The targets of air strikes during the third stage will most often be newly-detected targets or those that were not neutralized by the attack's preparatory fire and which are still giving effective resistance to units of the operational maneuver group. During this stage, air missions will mainly be called in from the battlefield.

Aviational accompaniment of the attacking troops of the maneuver group is the fourth stage of comprehensive fire attack. This sort of support is called in and is executed over the entire area of action and the targets of strikes are set as they are found and according to the development of the situation.

It should be added that, respective of the conditions under which the operational maneuver group is brought into combat and its subsequent actions, not all stages of comprehensive fire attack and air support must be executed.

The third group of tasks performed by aviation in support of the operational maneuver group should principally and totally be carried out by helicopter units that are in the maneuver groups table of organization.

The only exception to this is the landing of tactical airborne units. A necessary number of helicopters must be temporarily assigned to the commander of the operational maneuver group so that this mission can be carried out.

One of the most important conditions to the effectiveness of air combat is close coordinated action with troops of the operational maneuver group. This amounts to coordinating actions according to the tasks, directions, boundaries, targets, methods and times of actions by the maneuver group in the entire area of operations. The problems requiring coordination are: division of the attached allotment of special aviation fire attack resources according to tasks; the sequence of air missions called in to the battlefield; air reconnaissance missions and the method by which the data obtained is to be communicated to the staff of the operational maneuver group; missions and times for attached airborne units and organization of support for them; methods of mutual identification and indicating targets; the seizure of enemy airfields; the method for commanding air units during air support; and the tasks of the operational maneuver group in destruction of enemy antiaircraft resources. Furthermore, joint actions with rocket, artillery and antiaircraft troops, the aviation of the operational maneuver group, combat engineering troops and chemical warfare troops require coordination, as does the problem of radioelectronic warfare. Coordinated action is most often reflected in proper tables of coordination and in plans.

For the organization and realization of coordination, constant communication, a system of identification, information and mutual exchange of information are necessary. In the combat actions of the operational maneuver group, it is very important to maintain continuing coordination. This is bound with the necessity of constant updating of all needed problems respective of the changing situation of land and in the air.

During air combat actions in support of the operational maneuver group, the organization of a chain of command demands special consideration. Increasing the operativeness of the command and its continuance while the maneuver group is operating at great distances ahead of the main forces can be obtained in the broad use of air command posts and in the organization (with lines of authority) of respective air command points within the dispositions of the operational maneuver group.

In summation, the unconventional nature of actions by operational maneuver groups makes new demands on aviation. In the light of these demands, it becomes essential to find new and effective methods for action by almost all arms of aviation, and improvement of the principles of coordination and command. The problems of comprehensive support to aviation combat actions also requires intense study. These considerations should, however, be based above all on a thorough knowledge of the principles of using operational maneuver groups, on the expected change in situation due to their actions and on comprehensive analysis of the combat capabilities of aviation.

DAILY DISCUSSES NEW PASSPORT REGULATIONS

AU220744 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Nov 83 p 3

[Ryszarda Kazimierska article: "Changes to Passport Regulations"]

[Excerpts] It is an interesting and controversial subject. Why has Y been refused a passport and why has X received one without any difficulty? And why do we not keep our passports in our pockets like in other countries instead of having to stand in line before every trip, fill out a form, and wait for an answer whether they will issue a passport or not?

Right now, talks are in progress in our parliament on amending the rules contained in the passport law in force. A so-called first reading of the government draft has taken place, and a subcommittee of deputies has begun analyzing the document in detail. Next Thursday, 17 November, a joint meeting of the Commission for Legislative Work and the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice will take place, during which the subcommittee's report will be read and a final draft of the law will be formulated for adoption by the Sejm.

The passport law currently in force was passed in 1959. As General Wladyslaw Pozoga, undersecretary of state for internal affairs, has said while explaining the need for the amendments before the Sejm, the law "remains valid in its basic principles and enables the introduction of a flexible passport policy in accordance with the interests of the state and with the hopes and expectations of the citizens."

After 13 December 1981, the possibility of foreign trips was temporarily restricted. The legal regulations of martial law were in force.

After the lifting of martial law, there was a return to the passport policy in force prior to 13 December.

But--the 1959 legal regulations are causing numerous reservations. There have been remarks by deputies on this subject, as well as proposals voiced in the Sejm by Deputy Osmanczyk and others.

Particular reservations are caused by the rule saying that "after having made a careful analysis of the obstacles in force," a passport issuing body "may refuse to issue a passport to a citizen under circumstances

contained in the analysis, for example when criminal proceedings are under way against the applicant or if important state or social interests speak against the issuing of a passport." This extremely vague concept of "important state or social interests" has caused the greatest number of doubts. For everything could be included under this heading.

As Undersecretary of State Pozoga has said, "It is also a fact that the rules up to now have given some passport officials a rather wide freedom of interpretation, and have even presented the possibility of misuse of powers."

That is why the amended passport law foresees a clarification of the rules, a list of the reasons behind a refusal of a passport, and the elimination of ambiguous expressions.

According to the present draft, a passport may only be refused when:

- Preliminary criminal proceedings or court proceedings are under way. In the case of a conditional waiver of criminal proceedings in favor of probation, a passport may not be issued before 3 months have passed since the end of the probation period.
- The protection of a state secret or important state interests concerning the country's defense, economy, or public order weigh against the issue of a passport. (Important state interests are taken to mean a threat to the country's internal or external security. This constitutes a reason for refusing a passport in the socialist countries and also in most capitalist countries such as Switzerland, Austria, and Italy.)
- Important social interests weigh against the issuance of a passport, especially when it is impossible for the state to provide a citizen with a constitutional guarantee that he will be cared for during his stay abroad (for example if there are no diplomatic or consular relations with a given country or if there is internal or military unrest in a given country), and also when the applicant cannot guarantee that he will have enough funds to cover the cost of his stay abroad.
- An applicant for a passport has not fulfilled a duty, defined in a law or in a decree by a court or other state body, toward the state, a socialized economic unit, or an individual.

According to the new draft, a passport may also be refused when a citizen has acted to the detriment of PPR's interests during his stay abroad or has not used his passport in accordance with the purpose for which it was issued.

An important change to the regulations so far is the one whereby there is a duty to explain all negative decisions, except those caused by the need to protect a state interest or the country's defense, security, and public order.

One can generally say that the proposed amendments to the passport law conform to the opinions that have been expressed and the needs of society. Therefore, this is no doubt a step forward in the right direction.

But, as usually happens, not everything appeals to everyone. Even during the first discussions, some deputies commented on some of the regulations, describing them as too vague and capable of free interpretation. It was also suggested that passport decisions be subject to judicial control. It is true that two-tier proceedings apply when passport matters are being dealt with--the new regulations allow the possibility of a citizen's appealing to a passport issuing body for an explanation if a passport has been refused him. Nonetheless, some deputies believe that the Administrative Court, which checks the legality of decisions given, could fix a single guideline for some unclear concepts which by the nature of things must be used in the law and which should of course be interpreted identically.

Before the Sejm passes the amended passport law, there will still be a discussion on the final shape of this new act.

[The following passage appears in a box in the middle of article and is unattributed: During the period 1971-81, 8.5 million people received permission to travel abroad, including 5.5 million to the capitalist countries. In 1970, 121,000 people traveled to the capitalist countries, in 1978, 577,000 people traveled to these countries, in 1980, 709,000 people, and in 1981--1,274,000 people. Negative decisions were given to 51.7 percent of all passport applicants in 1970. In 1978, the percentage of negative decisions was 11.2 percent, in 1980, 10.5 percent, and in 1981--4 percent.]

CSO: 2600/342

URBAN EXPLAINS DOMESTIC SETBACKS, GAINS TO CZECHS

AU181438 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 17 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview given by Polish Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban to MLADA FRONTA special correspondent Petr Majcharcik in Warsaw: "We Are Facing a Common Goal"--date of interview not given]

[Text] [Majcharcik] As we have been able to convince ourselves, the consolidation of Polish society has made headway. Wherein is this progress manifested?

[Urban] Above all, in the political sphere because we have succeeded in considerably limiting the influence of internal enemies. I am discussing this because in 1981 their influence was very far-reaching and their activity was becoming increasingly radical, day by day. They were attacking our alliance with the Soviet Union and the very substance of socialism and strove to liquidate it in Poland. When we look back at the changes that have occurred since then, it becomes apparent that the successes achieved in consolidation have been remarkable. At present, the number of people acting against the state is severely limited. There are about 100 or 200 of those who live in illegality. There are also people, but not too many, who--despite their life in legality--are actively helping the so-called underground. Then there is a third group, which sides with the enemies but does not support them in any way. This group comprises about 2 percent of the population. Another result of consolidation is the fact that all slogans of the enemies of normalization and their entire activity meet only with a weak response. For example, some time ago they proclaimed a 1-week so-called Italian strike, which consists of slowing down the work pace. They opted for this form because it does not entail for anyone the risk of being charged with breach of law. This was to be their trump card. However, we have not noticed anything of that sort. Also their other appeals of this nature no longer arouse the appropriate response. They are not succeeding in making the workforce of factories take to the streets and when they do succeed in this, it is only the exception to the rule. The development of the new trade unions, which is admittedly slow but steady, is another manifestation of the consolidation process. They already have some 3.5 million members and structures above the enterprise level are also being formed.

Further expressions of consolidation are the growing influence of the PZPR, mainly in enterprises, and the growing role of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) [abbreviation published by paper].

However, we know very well that the process of consolidation is not just a series of successes. We must constantly keep in mind that, although the majority of our society has turned its backs on the slogans of the enemies of socialism, this does not mean its active support for the program of the party and the government.

[Majcharcik] How do young people participate in the search for ways out of the crisis?

[Urban] The so-called Solidarity as a mass movement was, to a considerable degree, a movement of young people. This was a consequence of the disenchantment of young people with the policy of the 70's. They were therefore responsive to the nice-sounding Solidarity slogans, about the political content of which they did not bother to think. That is why the entire problem of consolidation is chiefly a question of winning the youth back. This is made all the more difficult by the growth in recent years of the influence of the Church on young people, not only in world outlook matters but also in organizational terms. I must thus admit that the share of the youth in the consolidation process is not as pronounced as we would wish. We have only very recently been successful in enlisting relatively large numbers of young people, in enhancing their participation in the activities of PRON and the new trade unions, and in winning them over for joining the PZPR. There is one more thing that has to be stressed--the youth movement is not strong in Poland. I am thinking of organizations that are associated in one way or another with the policy of the party and the government. For instance, the Union of the Socialist Youth of Poland is a numerically strong organization but its influence and activity do not suggest this.

We are therefore trying to make young people take part in the fulfillment of the program of the party and the government, we want them to take their real interests into their own hands. For this to happen, the government has worked out a special program.

[Majcharcik] Czechoslovak readers are informed about the economic sanctions imposed on Poland by the United States and the West. What are their consequences?

[Urban] Agreements and contracts were cancelled, especially those concerning credits. This means, in other words, that we can import but that we must pay for the imports in cash, which we do not have. One of the reasons for this is that restrictions have made exports and, hence, the earning of hard currency, more difficult. The United States has also cancelled our Most-Favored-Nation status so that our exports to the United States are much less profitable, if they are profitable at all. Western governments have also restricted the export of modern technology

to Poland. Moreover, our airline's routes to the United States have been cancelled, the United States has rescinded the treaty on fishing in U.S. waters, and so forth.

In the 70's, one-half of our foreign trade turnover was effected with the West. We purchased several hundred licenses for all kinds of merchandise, the production of which was always to a greater or smaller extent dependent on Western technology. The contracts were being concluded in such a way as to make us dependent. They were very successful in this. And then, all of a sudden, they slammed the door. They reckoned that our economy would collapse. They have miscalculated, owing, above all, to the assistance of the Soviet Union. However, the fact is that production has dropped sharply in both quantitative and qualitative terms and that the living standard of the population has declined by one-fourth. However, after the imposition of the state of emergency, our economy recovered--that means, production began to grow. By 1985 we would like to achieve the standard of 1979 and I must note that in that year the economic situation was not good and the standard of living was already declining. In other words, we are catching up with our own past. We see the path toward mitigating the impact of the economic situation mainly in intensifying cooperation with CEMA countries and in increasing turnover with the developing countries. However, what will ultimately decide will be our ability to make use of our own internal potentials. The damage caused by the sanctions is very difficult to express in figures as the consequences are both direct and indirect. We have not yet finished adding up the bill but one day we will all become acquainted with it.

[Majcharcik] In sharp contrast to this reality is the internationalist assistance of the countries of the socialist community. Could you give us some examples?

[Urban] This assistance has taken two forms. On several occasions, the USSR granted us credits not only in rubles, but also in freely convertible currencies. It also agreed that, for the time being, we will not balance out our mutual exchanges. In other words, this means that we have received more than we have exported. The USSR has supplied raw materials to us and has made possible some additional cooperation projects, which has permitted us to not close several enterprises. As regards the other socialist countries, by now we have achieved an equilibrium in the balance of payments with all of them. However, only last year, in the most difficult situation, each of these states was helping us with extraordinary deliveries. Besides, they also granted us assistance in other ways, which cannot be seen in any trade balance books. They agreed, and this is also true of Czechoslovakia, to a revision of the contents of long-term cooperation agreements. Thus, in the case of Czechoslovakia, we will receive many more products for the market, in lieu of equipment for capital investment projects that have been suspended.

[Majcharcik] The development of fraternal cooperation and intensification of friendship between our countries are inconceivable without the most important thing--peace. How can, and must, the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic contribute to averting a nuclear apocalypse?

[Urban] In the international forum and in the struggle for preserving peace, they share the same goal--the defense of peace. We share this goal because we are at the border of two world systems and because the defense of the entire socialist community is at stake. By means of their domestic and foreign policy, both our states contribute to attaining this goal. It was said a few days ago that, should the new American missiles be stationed in Western Europe and the Geneva talks fail for this reason, the importance of your country for defense will increase. Despite the economic difficulties we are experiencing, Poland will increase its defense contribution as a regular member-state of the Warsaw Pact. The people of both our countries still vividly remember how much suffering and how many sacrifices World War II meant for them.

CSO: 2400/103

UN ENVOY SPEAKS OUT IN SUPPORT OF AFGHANISTAN

LD232041 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 23 Nov 83

[Report by PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, 23 Nov--Speaking in the ongoing debate on Afghanistan held by the UN General Assembly, Poland's permanent delegate to the UN Ambassador Wlodzimierz Natorf pointed out that so far the debate failed to produce positive results and served the interests of imperialist forces.

Those forces have been seeking pretexts to sharpen confrontation, go on with the undeclared war against Afghanistan and with brutal interference in the internal affairs of other states.

The draft resolution tabled by Pakistan on behalf of the group of 44 states last Monday was an example of such an attitude. Poland will vote against this resolution, Natorf said.

He stressed that the situation in Afghanistan was an internal affair of the Afghan nation. Five years ago this nation made a historic choice and embarked upon the road of profound political and economic transformations. Poland supports the Afghan nation in its struggle against imperialist and counterrevolutionary forces interfering in its internal affairs.

Poland supports the efforts of the Afghan Government and its foreign policy aimed at alleviating the present strains and establishing and developing good-neighbourly relations, Natorf said. We acknowledge with interest and hope the efforts undertaken by the UN secretary general and his special envoys in this field. Provided there is political will of all the sides concerned, it is possible to create a proper atmosphere for negotiations charting the ways of peace, balance and cooperation in South-west Asia.

CSO: 2020/38

STATE OF HEALTH CARE EVALUATED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview with Prof Andrzej Tymowski by Jolanta Kroner: "Nothing For Free?"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, people say that whatever is obtained for free is not appreciated, and that whatever is free of charge is usually of poor quality. This opinion is best illustrated by complaints about our health care services, even as the waiting rooms of the medical cooperatives and the private doctors' offices are overcrowded. The saying "I pay and I demand" explains the situation. Could it be that as a society we have become disappointed in free social services?

[Answer] First of all, I cannot agree with your definition of these services as being free of charge. In order for a government to give something, it must first get it. The means to finance our health care services or education, for instance, are earned by us. That's exactly what is deducted -- even though in a form supposedly imperceptible to the working man -- from our so-called fund of individual consumption, in other words, among other things, our wages. Those means are designated for purposes of social consumption, and therefore are used for the kinds of social services that are given preference by the whole society, or are distributed among individuals in the form of monetary support. But then the economic and social functions of those two kinds of service are different.

[Question] What are the differences?

[Answer] Giving preference to certain kinds of services should give everybody, irrespective of one's income, the means to meet those needs that are generally considered indispensable, especially, among others, in the area of health care, education, team sports and, to a certain degree, recreation or culture. The truth of the matter is that lately the attitude toward financing these services has been undergoing a change: they are beginning to be partly covered within the framework of individual consumption, which means from one's own pocket.

Monetary services, distributed within the limits of the social consumption fund--that is, family benefits, student stipends, maternity benefits, etc.--are of a different character: they are meant for people who meet certain

definite conditions and they are distributed in a way most convenient to the beneficiaries.

[Question] Our current socioeconomic crisis and also the anti-inflation program have put certain rigors on our social policy. What then should our policy be today toward services of social consumption?

[Answer] The answer is clear. Social policy must always be correlated with the effects of the economic process based on the actual earned income. The results of financing our consumption from foreign sources are still felt by us too acutely. We could really serve as an example of the bad results of using that method as a routine for some length of time. It is also important to be cognizant of the fact that the monetary income of the population must be strictly related to the total volume of goods and money which are available. Satisfying the consumption aspirations of the population by money that has no backing will always cause ill effects, if not right away then a bit later.

[Question] Under these circumstances, do you see a possibility of expanding our social services?

[Answer] The introduction of new kinds of benefits in such a situation can take place only in exceptional cases. In this respect we have been living beyond our means for a long time already, and it will take years to secure the realization of those regulations that already have been introduced--clearly partly on paper only. What trouble is there with the realization of the Teacher's Charter and some other charters introduced without adequate consideration? On the other hand, a lot of pressure should be directed toward continuing the benefits existing for years, the ones that become part of the generally accepted pattern of the obligatory system. Of course, this does not mean that they cannot be modified, made economically feasible and effective.

[Question] What then should be done with the newly revalorized pensions if they will shortly prove to be the "same old bag" and the relation between the average pension and the average wage will become worse than before?

[Answer] Pensions must be valorized, because otherwise a large disproportion is created between the people who receive wages and the ones who live on pensions. In times of inflation, wages--at least nominal wages--grow steadily, but not so pensions. This causes a large disproportion in the standard of living between the people who are currently employed and the ones who were employed in the past. That problem was recognized but regulated only in part. The so-called "same old bag" situation occurs again because we still don't have a current system of valorization.

[Question] Oh no, there is such a system. It was created by the new retirement law, which foresees setting in motion the current valorization as of March 1986.

[Answer] Still, this is for the future, because today the retirees don't yet have any valorization. On the other hand, pensions must always be lower than wages, because people who live on social services must have a lower income

than those who are working now in positions similar to the ones which the pensioners once occupied. The reason for this is that under no circumstances should the system of social services nullify the work incentive.

[Question] In this case what practical solution would a social politician propose for this time of coming out of the crisis?

[Answer] First of all, more consideration should be given to the purposes for which the acquired economic means are spent, because these should be the most logical expenditures--something that has not always been the case in the past, nor is it in the present. I shall cite a few examples that were given at the Fourth Congress of the Polish Association of Gerontology, which took place in Gdansk at the end of last September. After careful consideration, it was concluded there that the most urgent investment at this moment is the building of social care housing. Almost 10 percent of our hospital patients are so-called social patients, who have no place to go because at home they are not able to get the necessary care. But the cost of every place occupied by them at the hospital is about twice that of a nursing home. The solution is clear. Unfortunately, nobody draws the right conclusions.

Another example. From the social point of view it is best for the patient, even an elderly one, to stay in the home surroundings, provided he is guaranteed the right care, not only medical but social. This means help at home in taking care of daily needs and marketing. In this case no additional investments are required, only the right organization, the employment of suitable workers. Unfortunately, this kind of service here is still in its very initial stage.

I could bring you many such examples in the field of gerontology, but these problems are still underestimated in our practice and have minimal prospects for improvement.

[Question] As I understand it, your prescription for saving is spending money where it will bring about the greatest social benefits.

[Answer] Most important is making the right choices. In my judgment, for instance, we should support team sports and not the individual achievement sport. A playground in every school and not a virtually unused Stadium of the Decade.

[Question] Aren't you going to answer my initial question: why do we increasingly often prefer paying a doctor's fee to using our free clinic?

[Answer] I shall answer that I would place the greatest stock in the right cadre policy, giving priority to real work and not report-writing. One can be treated better or worse, and to a great degree this depends on the doctor, his attitude toward the patient, his involvement. Many possibilities are also present in better utilization of our already existing institutions. Many of them "lie fallow," not being sufficiently exploited. I have in mind swimming pools, gymnasiums, or some of the magnificent installations in our hospitals. But full utilization of those would require energetic moves, often breaking the existing regulations. This is not easy and it requires the right attitude at all levels.

CHANGES IN TEACHERS' STATUS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 19, 14 Sep 83 pp 8, 9

[Article by Wladyslaw Kata: "What Has Changed in Education?"]

[Text] On 26 January 1982 the Sejm ratified the Teachers' Charter, which has broadened the range of the teaching profession and raised its material status. Since 1 September 1983 the average teacher's pay has been equalized with the average pay of the engineering-technical profession employed in socialized industry. For the first time in the history of the Polish People's Republic, the teaching profession has been recognized on an equal plane--both socially and materially--with other professions of similar importance.

In order to modernize programs for education and upbringing, there has been a withdrawal from structural reform in schooling. The ministry had worked out the basis for a programmatic and organizational education and upbringing in the eight grades of elementary school, general high school and professional school. Work is continuing on the concept of a new subject that would include the elements of religion, Marxist philosophy, economics, sociology and law. Work has begun on new textbooks on sociopolitical subjects. Proposals for programmatic changes--in accordance with tradition--will be discussed in teachers' groups, party educational commissions and the ZNP [Union of Polish Teachers], and thereafter approved by the ministry.

Since 1 September of this year, there has been a new program introduced under the title of "Chief Directions and Tasks in the Educational Work of the Schools," whose implementation will guarantee the socialist character of education in Polish schools.

Introduced during the last school year were review and evaluation by administrative personnel in education. This encompassed 45,000 persons in administrative functions. As a result of the evaluations, 1,249 persons were declared incompetent to hold such positions and removed from them. This year there will be a review and evaluation of teachers in general high schools and then in the remaining types of secondary schools.

During this school year deputies to school superintendents responsible for education in defense matters among the officer class in the Polish Army were appointed. In the majority of school positions, the deputies to the directors of educational matters will be appointed.

As a result of the initiative of our department in the Ministry of Education, a new form of work with teachers in the area of pedagogical and theoretical conferences in central, voivodship and council sectors has been introduced. Last year there was a conference on the subject of pedagogical innovation, the sociopolitical situation and the educational role of the school and the teacher. Together with the Ministry of Education, we are conducting this year two additional conferences on the place and role of the self-governing school in the socialist educational system as well as teaching views in the didactic process.

Meetings have just begun with educational activists from the party: in seminars organized by the Central Committee's Department of Science and Education together with the Department of Information. Around 200 teachers as well as lecturers from PZPR voivodship committees have taken part in these seminars. For the most part, these are 2-day seminars, in which the lecturers on current political and ideological problems are party workers and activists. Three seminars have taken place to date; we hope to continue them, especially since they have been well received by the participants, the PZPR educational organs and other interested groups.

As a result of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, two hitherto unrealized ideas were put forward: acceptance of the government's program to correct the material and technical base of education and formation of a council devoted to education and upbringing.

The need to correct the base has resulted from the underevaluation of its development in the 1970's and the underestimation of the demographic factor in planning educational development. Carelessness in this area during the past few years has been so severe that its results will be felt throughout the coming decade.

During the years 1976-1980, 290 elementary schools were built when 404 were planned. In 1971-1975, 855 out of 943 planned schools were built. Underdevelopment of the local educational base in those years meant, among other things, that 6.5 billion zlotys earmarked for capital investments in 1971-1980 were not used. For this sum of money, 130 new elementary schools or 520 preschools could have been built.

In 1981, 36 elementary school buildings were made ready for use, and in 1982, 76 buildings. According to available demographic data, 150 schools in 1981 and 280 in 1982 should have been built.

As a result of the decisions made by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the Education Ministry issued a report entitled "Report on the State of Material Base in Education and Capital Investment Needs to 1990."

It states that 4,514 should be built preschool buildings by 1990 for 4,645,000 children and 4,165 elementary schools. Somewhat less are the needs for general high schools (79), professional schools (311) and technical schools (162). There is still a large need for boarding schools (605 buildings for 120,000 pupils) and special schools (132). This has resulted from a continued demographic increase that began in 1978 and will last--according to demographers--until past the year 2000. To 1990, the number of children in the age group 7-14 will increase by 1,200,000 persons. For these large numbers of children, it is necessary to plan now for the increase in the number of children in preschools and elementary schools, as cited in the above report.

The voivodships are responsible for the development of the educational infrastructure. They will have responsibility for the current and future state of the local educational base. As a result, each voivodship should develop a perspective plan for the development of education, taking into consideration solutions for the question of teachers' apartments, especially in the country and small cities. Without resolution of this question, we shall be unable to raise the teaching level in the country. Without a guarantee of an apartment, it will not be possible to get graduates to move to the country to teach.

The Socialist School

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress supported the secular character of the school and the socialist system of values in education and upbringing. The Polish school has the responsibility to educate and to prepare its pupils for work and life in a socialist society. This is defined by the educational system and the character of Polish schooling as secular and socialist. The legal and systematic bases of the Polish educational system are as follows: the constitution of the Polish People's Republic, the Sejm resolution from 1961 concerning the system of education and upbringing, the Sejm resolution from 1982 known as the Teachers' Charter and special legal regulations adopted by the Sejm in July 1983 during the period of emergence from the crisis. The principles of our educational system can be stated in the following formulas:

- the state character of schooling (maintenance of schools and educational entities from the state budget);
- the secular character of the schools;
- recognition and use of the socialist system of values in education;
- teaching according to programs and through textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

I bring up these principles again because extremists in Solidarity criticized the socialist character of Polish schools and wanted to give the educational functions of the ministry to local self-governments,

trade unions and religious unions. And after all, the secular school is the optimal solution because it does not recognize the difference between believers and nonbelievers, but rather it recognizes the division of church and state. In the Polish school, all pupils are also independent of their parents' respective financial situations, political views, religious affiliations or social position. The quotation "all children are ours" means that they are all treated equally in the educational process. The secularity of the schools guarantees the most democratic principles of behavior in relations between pupil and teacher, teacher and teacher, school and parents, school principal and teachers and also pupils and parents.

Among the most important schooling principles, POP's [basic party organizations] should:

- activate POP's in schools and educational entities in accordance with the tasks emanating from resolutions adopted by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, especially in the area of raising the level of teaching and strengthening the socialist system of values in education;

- strengthen the role of POP's in schools, education entities and administrative organs;

- continue the work tied to the implementation of the Teachers' Charter and resolve problems resulting from the new demographic situation, and also from special legal regulations after the lifting of martial law in the Polish People's Republic.

During the 1983-1984 school year, the work of schools, teachers, administrative personnel and school POP's will be concentrated on raising the level of ideological and educational work with children and youth. The Ministry of Education, as I have stated above, has established assumptions for this work. The school POP's have the responsibility to undertake an active part in their implementation, to analyze the educational system in their jurisdiction and to establish tasks for party members in this area. The Central Committee's Department of Science and Education has developed material to assist party efforts, entitled "The Role and Tasks of PZPR POP's in Schools and Day-Care Centers." Educational and party work have been directed especially by the ministry through pedagogical councils and the Central Committee's Department of Science and Education.

Responsibility for Upbringing

On the basis of proposals made by the Central Committee's Department of Science and Education and the Ideological Department, the Central Committee has added party subjects to education: shaping of the young generation's historical consciousness; system of values in socialist upbringing; the role of the school and the teacher in shaping patriotic and international citizen's foundations. These subjects will be introduced upon the appearance of suitable brochures.

At the request of our department, there will be worked out a special plan for POP's in schools and for teachers of history, civics and social sciences in such areas as problems of war and peace in the modern world, humanism, work, socialism, the individual, society and the state.

The principal of a school will have a larger role and be responsible for educational processes and the socialist character of the school. The educational supervisor will be responsible for control of the didactic-educational process and investigate the results of education. The minister of science and education already has made a decision regarding the pupils' work discipline, i.e., elimination of grade promotion with a D average, elimination of repeat examinations, introduction of examinations to professional schools and tightening of restrictions for final high school examinations (a new regulation).

The adopted to date actions in education have increased the responsibility of principals and teachers in shaping the educational situation in the schools. During the 1983-1984 school year, there will be a new system of work with teachers of sociopolitical subjects (civics, history, preparatory instruction on society) and with class educators and curators of youth organizations and school self-governments.

We feel that the work of the Institute for Teacher Education and its provincial divisions will have the fundamental meaning for raising the educational level of teachers. The Central Committee's Department of Science and Education has adopted the principle that in bettering teachers, it is necessary not only to renew essential knowledge of modern history and modern literature. In the department's view, backed by some historians and contemporary literary critics, one cannot close our country's history at 1956 and literature at 1948. We feel that the history of the Polish People's Republic to 1980 should be taught. Censoring literature to 1948 and history to 1956 would be understood by youth as an avoidance of the subject and conspiratorial.

After many discussions, the concept of taking into consideration the newest history and contemporary literature was victorious. In the information worked out by the Central Committee's Department of Science and Education regarding historical education, we support the idea of having the newest history taught in the last classes. As a result of the shortage of textbooks for the newest history, the department caused the appearance of historical notebooks as an addition to GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI and editions printed by WSiP from the interwar period.

The Role of Community Committees

Teachers' community committees are active in the majority of voivodships. The majority of these came about in August 1980 to defend PZPR educational policy from attacks by Solidarity extremists on the state, secular and socialist character of Polish education. It is necessary to recognize all members of the party who during the confrontational situation

with Solidarity extremists presented the justifiable communist view and organized actions among the party's members to defend the socialist values in education in the Polish schools.

Some community committees developed to strengthen the Voivodship Committee decision to correct PZPR institutional committees. They fulfill the integrating role of the community vis-a-vis state authorities (people's councils), party authorities (first degree echelons and voivodship committees) and educational authorities (inspectors or curators). We have sent information on the experiences to date of NKS party work to the voivodship committees. After obtaining suggestions, we shall prepare and issue next year for POP and NKS party groups materials on the NKS role and work tasks in the ideological and political areas. At present, community committees have accepted the responsibility for ideological and political work among teachers, for development and level of party schooling, for development of education in a given area and for ending of signals to party groups.

POP's fulfill the role of guiding PZPR educational policy through evaluation of the implementation of congressional or plenary decisions in a given school or educational entity. The obligation of all POP's is the systematic evaluation and creation of a suitable atmosphere for education in order to achieve the values of socialist education.

Education and upbringing serve not only the accumulation of knowledge and skill but also the shaping of citizens' foundations, which are expressed in patriotism, understanding of the state's rationale and the nation's interests, social discipline and responsibility, understanding of international bonds and observance of the norms of social life, all based on socialist principles of respecting work and human dignity, social justice and tolerance.

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AIR FORCE TECHNICAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES, ACHIEVEMENTS REVIEWED

Comments of Institute Commander

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 33-34, 14-21 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with Col Prof Dr hab Engr Jerzy Lewitowicz, commander of Air Force Technical Institute, by Piotr Gorski: "It Has Been 30 Years"]

[Text] This year marks the 30th anniversary of the Air Force Technical Institute, a scientific institution which also merits the celebration of next year's equally impressive landmark anniversary, that of the Polish aviation of People's Poland. Before we tell our readers further on in this interview about what aviation owes to the institute (ITWL) and about the institute's work and accomplishments, let us start at the beginning, because inasmuch as this is an anniversary, we need to renew this page in history a bit, history, let us add, which is not very well known.

[Question] Professor, you began your work at what is today the Air Force Technical Institute in 1956, that is, shortly after it began its activity. Could you recall for SKRZYDLATA readers when it began and how?

[Answer] By order of the Minister of National Defense, the INBWL, the Air Force Scientific Research Institute, was created on 17 June 1953. It was based on the Aviation Research Station, which had been in existence since 1952, and had the charge of doing tests on serial production aviation equipment in the context of its meeting military requirements. From 1953 to 1956 the foundations for organizing and managing operations were created, and between 1957 and 1958 its activity was expanded and a transition was made shaping the institution into the Air Force Technical Institute. Between 1959 and 1960 the basic fields of the institute's research and technical activity were developed.

Certain figures are eloquent testimony to its development. In 1953 when INBWL started up, it employed a total of a dozen and some employees altogether, but after a decade of activity the ITWL had many more employees.

[Question] What was the reason for this?

[Answer] Armed forces' aviation, which obtained a great deal of equipment, was developing, and there were concrete needs associated with this fact. At the same time, this was the period when our aviation was for the first time arming itself on a significant scale, with jet-propelled aircraft. This made it necessary to expand the scientific support, because the increase in the numbers of types of equipment being used made it necessary to take up additional operations and implementation, a new problem, and this problem was on a national scale, one which we fully developed during the 1960's.

Alongside the development of the above-mentioned fields, during the 1970's we began to handle new issues related to training facilities.

All major subjects in our place are handled in a full developmental cycle, from research through all stages of development of the design or system and through the implementation of production right up to putting it to use, including the training of personnel.

[Question] What is ITWL doing today?

[Answer] The institute has just about all technical specialties and handles many different problems, from flight mechanics and aerodynamics to everything related to turbine and internal-combustion engines for aircraft, to electronics and avionics, airport construction, systems problems, weapons, and the equipment for aviation recognition and detection.

[Question] Indeed, that is a very wide range of problems, and each of them could undoubtedly be very much expanded upon...

[Answer] For example, merely the issues related to aircraft equipment alone can be divided up into six groups, one of which is the theory and practice of operation from the moment the new aviation equipment is put into the unit up to the moment when its life is effectively over.

In all these areas of operation we have achievements put into practice, ones which produce concrete effects in terms of maintaining a high level of flight safety or optimization in terms of minimizing operating costs.

[Question] Could you give us some examples of such developments?

[Answer] During the 1970's we implemented a method of forecasting breakdowns and emergency situations in the jet engine bearing system, a method developed at ITWL. After a decade of using this method we can say with satisfaction that we managed to avoid many breakdowns and even catastrophes as a result.

The institute can also be justly proud of a whole range of equipment for towing air targets. In the realm of the most modern equipment for training, we have to our credit the OBERON simulator, a modern systems solution and design for the simultaneous training of up to five types of ground services to provide for the execution of in-flight tasks. These are just a few examples.

[Question] I think that this equipment could be of interest to more than just the military.

[Answer] That is right. We have had signs of interest in it from civil aviation, and not just in our country either, and also from the air forces of our pact [Warsaw Pact countries].

[Question] SKRZYDLATA readers have had more than one opportunity to learn about some of ITWL's achievements, and there will be many opportunities in the future, but I would like to go back to one other aspect. You mentioned the measurable savings which ITWL designs have brought about. Could you provide some concrete figures?

[Answer] Let the standard of measurement be the economic benefits gained through using our designs over the period of the institute's 30 years of existence. The total is more than 2.5 billion zlotys.

[Question] Now how does that look from the other side, that is, from that of the users of ITWL designs? In other words, what role is the institute playing in our country's military aviation?

[Answer] In terms of solving new problems, we are playing a leading role. The subject matter is suggested by the technical-engineering service of the various branches of aviation, by central supply groups, and also by the Aviation Engineering Board (szefostwo). Institute employees also propose new subjects in research and development for testing and research needs.

I should like to emphasize that in carrying out our tasks, a tremendous role is played by the close cooperation we enjoy with the aviation units using our equipment, with the services implementing our designs, criticizing them, and conducting the final operating tests. On the other hand, they work together with us in the initial stages of working on the subjects, in formulating the targets and assumptions.

[Question] They sound like difficult examiners.

[Answer] But they do it in good spirit. We have to thank the special test squadrons which conduct the operating tests before the equipment is put to use.

In addition we cooperate with many institutions subordinate to the Polish Academy of Sciences, with all the plants producing aviation equipment and others too. We carry on broad-based cooperation with other military technical institutes handling subjects in their own specialties but also having fields close to ours.

[Question] Up to now we have been talking a great deal about ITWL as an institution, but after all an institute is mainly people. I hope that you will pardon our not beginning our interview with them, but first of all our readers needed to be introduced to the subject in a general way.

[Answer] The staff, which first began 30 years ago at the technician and engineer level, has now reached top job-classification titles and academic degree levels. During the 1950's we made maximum use of enthusiasm. As the institute developed, we made ever better use of knowledge -- at the start we had only a few people with master's degrees -- and also experience. Actually the overwhelming majority of civilian and military employees continue to be aviation enthusiasts. It is only commitment that makes it possible to accomplish great things that are, let us say, significant.

[Question] Especially inasmuch as part of your staff from that period remains with you to this very day. That is no doubt a help.

[Answer] Absolutely. Today they direct groups of wonderful young employees with high-level qualifications and degrees.

[Question] You mentioned civilian employees, who insofar as I know are highly skilled.

[Answer] They make up the majority and work on a par with the military ones. Some units are entirely dominated by them, and not just administratively. Take the prototype production department.

[Question] What sort of role do they play in the institute's successes in terms of percentages?

[Answer] They have their share. The decided majority are distinguished people. Examples are Dr Engineer Ryszard Kudelski, Mgr engineer Jerzy Radek, Engineer Czeslaw Wrobel, and technician Ludwik Czubak, who won the 1983 title: "Master of Improvements" (racjonalizacja). These people have been winners many times of military contests and competitions of general national scope.

[Question] Insofar as I know, ITWL for example took part in the "Master of Engineering" (technika) and won.

[Answer] A few years ago we were very active in this competition, and we have many prizes and distinctions to our credit both as a group and as individuals. Now it is based on designs which can be used in civilian serial production, that is, an area we do not handle, but there are still other contests left, such as the Minister of National Defense Award and those of the military groups of SIMP. Among the winners, for example, are Col Dr Henryk Gajewski, Lt Col Mgr Engineer Janusz Jankowski, Lt Col Dr Engineer Ryszard Szczepanik, Maj Dr Engineer Kazimierz Michalewicz, Col Mgr Engineer Stanislaw Stasiewicz, the author of 22 inventions, 50 rationalization projects, five novelties, and winner of six high-ranking prizes.

[Question] Professor, you did not mention your own contribution. After all, you have 20 inventions "to your credit," along with five novel designs and eight awards, including Master of Engineering. This implies that ITWL's achievements in the field of discoveries and inventions are considerable.

[Answer] We have more than 50 patents to be proud of, as well as dozens pending, which are being reviewed. The decided majority of them have found application.

[Question] Just in the army?

[Answer] Many of our achievements have the possibility of application in the national economy, largely of course in aviation, but not just there. Among the users are LOT, the Polish Airlines, for which we are doing work starting with giving expert appraisals and running on to turbine engine diagnostics; the Health Aviation Group, the Agricultural Aviation Services Group, and the Polish Air Club, for which, among other things, we have conducted and are conducting technical reviews concerning the inefficiency of the aircraft they use. We have also developed condition monitoring kits, for example, for the Bocian glider.

[Question] Before you told me that ITWL is not taking part in civilian technical competitions because your designs have no application there. If some company or other ordered some sort of service, for example, to design and construct some sort of equipment -- for a fee, of course -- would the institute take on such a job?

[Answer] Absolutely, but please let me add a qualification, which will also explain the doubts you expressed. This would have to be a project which is based on a past project of the institute and which would be a problem that could be solved without too great an outlay. There are exceptions, situations where we are the only ones who can solve a given problem, owing to the technical facilities and personnel we have.

There are many examples. Over the past 30 years ITWL has done hundreds of jobs like that, large ones and smaller ones, such as the extinguishing complex based on a turbine aircraft engine. It worked and greatly reduced the time it took to put out fires in mines both in Poland and abroad. It was referred for large-series production.

[Question] Would it not be possible to eliminate these restrictions through the concrete matter of profit gained from activity carried on "outside"? This would not only increase the possibility of being economically self-supporting, thus relieving the state budget, but would also surely have an impact to help bring about the more rapid development of the institute, improve utilization of its resources, and provide an additional opportunity for more rapid progress.

[Answer] Here you have touched on issues related to the model of the economic system of scientific research facilities, which should be settled by the new law on institutes. The Sejm has run into delays in passing it. We believe that the next few months and years will bring about changes which will make it possible to work that way. Nonetheless, we must abide by our founding statute. It says that we are created to resolve problems, to the extent of our means and resources, for a specific user, the Ministry of National Defense.

[Question] It was ITWL's 30th anniversary that prompted our interview, and that is why we have been talking about its past and its present. Please say a few words at least about the future. What sort of plans are in the works, Commandant?

[Answer] ITWL has a large enough area for implementation for today and for the immediate future. The fields and directions embarked upon up to the present time will be continued. We also think that it will be useful in the near future not so much to expand as to inculcate for military aviation needs those modern engineering achievements like lasers, laser holography, and new theories which have proved themselves, like the theory of finished components (elementy), numerous achievements in the electronics area waiting for incultation in and application to new equipment and diagnostic and control systems, both on flight decks and in ground facilities. These are merely examples. We have the personnel ready for it, personnel which while working on behalf of aviation is working on its own development. For this reason I am optimistic about the institute's future.

[Question] In thanking you for the interview, I hope that it all turns out.

[Answer] Thank you.

Comments of Deputy Air Force Commander

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 8-10

[Article by Gen. bryg. mgr inz. Zdzislaw Pietrucha, deputy commander of the air force: "Air Force Technical Institute in Service to Aviation of the Polish Armed Forces"]

[Text] This year the Air Force Technical Institute (ITWL) is celebrating the 30th anniversary of its activity in the technical-security system safeguarding armed forces' aviation. The developments and improvements during this period have been adapted to the needs of developing aviation engineering and the technical support for it. ITWL has consistently linked the meeting of current needs indicated by aviation engineering users to properly projected developmental needs, and it has correctly shaped its structures and scientific-research and technical potential to the ever-growing needs of aviation.

The secret of the institute's achievements overall and its proper development should be ascribed to the great dedication and properly developed aspirations of the civilian employees and staff and to the farsighted vision of the leadership of this scientific-research facility (of particularly favorable significance is the policy of solidifying the institute's position in aviation and also throughout the whole Polish armed forces and the national economy). It has been through the continual raising of the qualifications and methodological level of the work of the employees, the firm establishment among the staff of a sense of a "hunger for knowledge" and creative tension in research, and active participation in all technical-organizational processes of the development and activity of aviation, especially operations, repairs, material

supply, and close cooperation with the producer of aviation engineering, that this staff has achieved a very high level of skill in discharging its statutory duties. Under these conditions, in solving many rather complicated problems related to aviation specialized training and technical security, many original (nationally and internationally) technical designs in terms of procedure and methodology have proved of great service both to military aviation and not infrequently to particular branches of the national economy. There has been great acclaim, for example, for designs and solutions for the national economy like the system for putting out fires in coal mines, the container with original apparatus to examine shifting radioactive clouds, and equipment for biomedical research. Another concrete example is participation by ITWL specialized units in the development of aeronautical construction engineering and technology, in the design and practical application of methods and ways of doing and using reliability, durability, and diagnostic and tensometric endurance tests, and in presenting technical expert fact-finding reports after accidents, as well as other contributions.

Among the military pilots, the civilian employees and staff enjoy great respect and moral authority. Successful creative cooperation is developing here. The consultations and training set up by ITWL for personnel using the equipment enjoys great interest, leave lasting traces of knowledge, and also have an impact in developing the high level of technical culture so essential in aviation.

ITWL's tasks include the solution of scientific-research problems related to aircraft, aircraft engines, avionics, weaponry, training simulators, and airport engineering and installations. Many basic directions and fields of operation have grown up in the ITWL structure under the influence of the armies' growing needs and in connection with the rapid development of aviation. Some of them are closely related to the means and methods of organizing work, those linking engineering to groups of people. In this area new methods, means, and procedures for action have been found along with broadly drawn technical, organizational, and supply standards for the technical-aviation supply, repair, and operational needs. Research and testing on aeronautical equipment in flight are continually being expanded. Organizational technical work and research in the realm of technical diagnosis and forecasting of reliability of airframes, powerplants, and flight-deck equipment have gained an important place. Work in the area of the theory of the reliability and life of aeronautical equipment and technical flight systems has made it possible to have a direct influence on the level of reliability and durability both of aircraft just being developed in the aviation industry and of aircraft continuing to be operated.

Research on the technical aviation operations processes represents a key area of ITWL's interest. It is the basis of experimental design work geared to improving the operating characteristics of aircraft. Expert technical opinion related to safety of flight and the development of technical preventive measures to prevent aircraft accidents plays an important role in this area of research. This goal is also promoted by statistical analysis and research related to damage to aviation equipment and by the directed technical research based on the findings, especially in the realm of the mechanics of failure, the development of corrosion of standard aircraft alloys, tribology, and so on.

Numerous new technical agents have been created for research needs, and other existing means have been adapted. They are being used directly more and more by users, who in this way are expanding their diagnostic base.

Research design aimed at expanding fire power, the effectiveness of fire, aircraft maneuverability, and recognition ability makes up a separate group. Concrete work helping to upgrade the system of air rescue at sea and on land is also well known in armed forces aviation. Users also are well served by practically tested designs for field service units for technical squadrons and for PWL, winches for towing air targets, and many other technical devices.

The concrete effects of ITWL work make a noticeable contribution in improving air force combat readiness, upgrading pilot training safety and effectiveness, and lowering operating costs of aviation engineering.

ITWL's creative contribution is well known to aviation personnel of the armed forces. It has been widely publicized in many national and military periodicals, as well as in internal informational leaflets and circulars. This institution's importance to the proper development and technical security of armed forces aviation is obvious. For these reasons, the staff and employees of ITWL enjoy great respect and moral authority among the entire aviation community in the country.

I am sending my warm congratulations on its many successful achievements over the past 30 years, and I am wishing further success in solving the many research problems in management, training, and design, problems bothering contemporary aviation of the Polish armed forces. I am also wishing the staff and the whole institute the successful realization of all their professional aspirations.

Summary of Achievements

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU
in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 13-15

[Article by Col Prof Dr hab. Engineer Jerzy Lewitowicz: "Air Force Technical Institute on Its 30th Anniversary (1953-1983)"]

[Text] On the jubilee of the founding of the Polish people's army, the Air Force Technical Institute (ITWL) celebrates the 30th anniversary of its operations. It was created in 1953 as the Air Force Scientific Research Institute (INBWL) (using that name until 1958) to solve problems coming out of the needs of aviation, which was expanding dynamically. Therefore flight engineering in the full sense of this word became its field of operation. The multilateral specialization of the institute's staff and the development of technical backing made it possible to work on solving problems using various scientific methods and techniques.

The institute functions within the integrated system of the military technical scientific research facilities under the Chief Technical Inspector of the Polish Army. The research subjects and problems undertaken flow out of

the need of presentday aviation and the continual concern for its future. They are suggested by command headquarters, appropriate technical progress departments, aviation units, and production and repair plants. The creative initiative of the institute's employees, experienced people with great practical and theoretical knowledge, play a unique role in taking on research and design projects.

ITWL activity includes all subsystems of the most broadly conceived operation of aeronautical technology involving operation, use, supply or repair, as well as aircraft training. Technical problems are coupled with methods, means, and procedures, with organization and groups of people. In another facet of this activity, the institute takes up problems of the technical status of equipment, an important component of air force combat readiness, the rise in the firepower of airplanes and helicopters, flight safety in terms of the greatest possible reliability coefficients for equipment and the highest indexes for ease of operation and durability of prophylactic and diagnostic procedures.

The institute's staff is working on methods of research on aeronautical equipment to permit detection of the causes underlying unknown phenomena and explain problems which occur. In this realm, close cooperation with the flight-engineering service and the pilots of aviation units (flights and independent squadrons) play a special role, just as they do in running any sort of military operations tests.

The institute selects problems, systems, and specialized projects to work on. They are all handled in a comprehensive manner, usually fully developed to include research, development and inculcation of results for practical use in combat units, flight schools, on practice grounds, or in factories. These are studies and analyses which end with the drawing up of the technical and tactical requirements for the new equipment or aeronautical apparatus. In selecting subjects to work on, costs -- to be more exact, the cost-effect ratio -- are an important criterion. Hence, this is a very important issue and must be handled using appropriate economic analyses. Of course, involved is the general overall effect, which takes in not only measurable values but also intangible ones (tactical and combat effect). Tactical-technical analysis of the problems undoubtedly are helpful in making the decision. The inculcation of the results of the work is also important. All the subjects worked on are closely scrutinized, especially those relating to increased firepower, aircraft maneuverability, electronic detection and countermeasure, capability, and airport construction and maintenance.

The institute works on subjects independently or in close cooperation with other civilian and military institutes, institutions of higher education, and factories and research and development facilities, the WZL, and the Military Repair Plants (WWR). This cooperation has been very successful over the 3 decades that the institute has been in operation.

The 30 years of the contribution of the institute is found in its many applications, well known in the aviation industry and, what is most important,

in airborne units, contributing in an important way to the attainment of a high level of airforce combat readiness and the bolstering of the country's defensive posture.

The institute's staff has numerous direct contacts with the aeronautical engineering service and knows the units' problems and life. These contacts strengthen practical application in the units, as do participation in annual get-togethers of various specialists, joint discussions, seminars, and theme-oriented councils.

It is not easy to sum up the contribution of the institute. The institute's position is surely designated by its important designs and new fields, whose value is being felt now and will be felt in the future.

Here are examples of the institute's projects and achievements:

1. In the realm of improving aircraft detection: various sorts of driers to speed up the processing and elaboration of flight detection material along with research and tests on new detection chambers.
2. In the realm of improving technical means of management and leadership under combat conditions: UKF and DMF systems and appropriate encoding systems, greatly enhancing the scope of flight operations at low altitudes, aircraft and helicopter installations of new means of communication and command under combat conditions and for air and sea rescue.
3. In the realm of increasing military maneuvering capability and strength: new suspended aircraft weapons for airplanes and helicopters, aiming devices, new methods of bombing and using various sorts of rockets.
4. In the realm of improving systems for using and operating aviation technology: statistical analysis, methods for assessing the technical status of equipment, technical analyses, various new diagnostic techniques (defectoscopic techniques for detecting design cracks, isotope techniques for detecting failure conditions in the bearing systems of turbine engines, vibro-acoustical techniques for detecting breakdowns, failures, and emergencies in powerplant and airframe), use of analysis of temporary parameters of the engine to control the condition of turbine engines. In addition, the popularization of technical research (bulletins, atlases of fatigue cracks and failures), and also the critical limitation of the rotational speed of helicopter blades, new uniform technical service sets for many types of airplanes and helicopters, and collective and partial standards for spare parts.
5. In the realm of improving the technical aspects of army training: many pieces of training equipment designated both for training one sort of specialists, such as navigators (Morskie Oko; Nerejda, SN-79), and for the comprehensive training of all the services (navigator, operator-navigator, chief of the landing system, flight chief and pilot in the training cabin). This group includes the most modern equipment, IKS-80 Oberon. The IC-3 and RC-1 equipment has been put into the national air defense armies and has also

been exported. Also included are many items of equipment for firing from the air for the OPL artillery and aviation, as well as many uncoiler-recoilers (RZ-1000, WH-1500 and -3000-meter), towing sleeves with radar reflectors and a hit counter, and Gacek and Tukan air target designs used in the 1960's. This equipment used to be towed behind the Il-28 airplane, and it is now being used with the An-2 and Yak-40. There was also equipment for training in catapulting from an airplane.

6. In the realm of airports: geomorphological detection method for examining the ground using aerial photographs for airport construction, technology of repairing runways and other surfaces and roads on airports using domestic natural raw materials and the most modern synthetics.

The institute is doing research on flight and military operation properties of aircraft recently armed. As the result of this research instructions, guidelines, and bulletins are drawn up to meet tactical and operating needs.

The institute makes its scientific research and design experience available to the national economy. Institute designs and achievements like foil resistance tensometers, dynamometric weight, power, and pressure sensors. The institute employees' knowledge and experience make it possible to develop specialized designs, among which undoubtedly is the GAG equipment for putting out fires in mines, which was developed jointly with the Main Mining Institute and used an aircraft turbine engine. It is entirely successful in extinguishing fires in our country and abroad. Another example is the equipment developed in cooperation with the Central X-ray Protection Laboratory, equipment for detecting radiation contamination of the upper layers of the atmosphere, which has been used over Poland for 10 years in the systematic control of contamination.

The institute can be proud of one of the best records of legally protected achievements in the world per scientific employee (over 150 patents). It is worth noting that the value gained from using institute employees' inventions exceeds 2.5 billion zlotys. These are measurable results.

The institute's employees have received more than 60 awards and distinctions of various types, including that of the Minister of National Defense, SIMP, and NOT.

The institute has received recognition for its activity many times. It has received the MON medal "For Achievement in Military Service" three times, "Ikar" twice, "Aviation Merit," "OPK Armies Merit," and "Military Rationalizer [Improvement]."

The designs gained, the inculcation of the results of its work, and the SIL specialists' training show that ITWL has served the Polish armed forces aviation well. The institute has everything necessary to bolster the scientific position it has gained and to improve and modernize its designs.

10790

CSO: 2600/295

SHORTCOMINGS IN ANIMAL BREEDING CRITICIZED

AU221326 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Nov 83 p 2

[Report by First Deputy Prime Minister Ion Dinca to the Grand National Assembly on 16 November]

[Excerpt] With great responsibility we report to the Grand National Assembly that, although better than last year, the results achieved in animal breeding are not yet up to the provisions of the state plan or to the requirements and tasks formulated by the party and state higher leadership, and they are not up to the potential of our socialist agriculture.

A number of shortcomings still persist in guidance and control activity, and not enough exactingness is shown everywhere toward the manner in which the units' managements, cadres and specialists, and all workers in the animal breeding sector are fulfilling their duties. Results falling far short of requirements and possibilities are being achieved in state agricultural enterprises where meat and milk production is low, thus inappropriately reflecting the conditions created by the material-technical base they have available in order to set an example for the other agricultural units on how to organize and implement the production process.

There are still shortcomings in organizing reproduction, in the sanitary-veterinary sector, and this had led to the fact that at this point the livestock plan regarding cattle and sheep has not been completely fulfilled.

Owing to insufficient concern on the part of certain managements of agricultural units, many livestock shelters have not been modernized; some farms do not run their stables according to program and do not implement compulsory norms on tending and breeding livestock. Other units fail to secure, train, and employ livestock personnel on a permanent basis.

Milk, meat, and egg production still requires great quantities of livestock fodder, while meat and milk deliveries to state stocks still fall short of plan provisions.

The main reason for the failure to fulfill planned production is undoubtedly the fact that managements of certain units, specialists, and other responsible personnel in regional agricultural bodies and even at the ministry failed to secure appropriate quantities of fodder. This can be traced back to the fact that average

output per hectare has not increased, land sown to fodder crops was not intensively utilized, natural pastures were not improved, fodder crops were not harvested and stored properly, and other fodder resources were not rationally utilized. There are shortcomings in the implementation of programs designed to improve natural pastures in hilly and mountainous areas and in adding new fodder resources to livestock feed.

CSO: 2700/61

RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONGRATULATES NICULESCU ON BIRTHDAY

AU281518 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Nov 83 p 5

["Letter from the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee to Comrade Paul Niculescu on His 60th Birthday"--SCINTEIA headline]

[Text] On your 60th birthday, we warmly congratulate you and extend to you warm wishes for long life, health, and happiness.

On this occasion, we express our appreciation for the activity you have carried out and are carrying out in the party and for the responsibility with which you are working to commendably fulfill the tasks entrusted to you by the party. We appreciate your contribution, as member of the Political Executive Committee and chairman of the Central Union of Cooperatives, for the Production, Purchase, and Sales of Goods, to implementing our party-state policy for the country's socioeconomic development and for raising, on this basis, the standard of living and civilization of all the people.

We hope, Comrade Paul Niculescu, that you will continue to enjoy robust health and great energy for work, so as to be able to further contribute, together with all our party, to implementing the decisions of the 12th congress and the national conference of the party as well as the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure Romania's progress toward communism.

On your birthday, we all wish you "Many Happy Returns of the Day!"

The Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee

CSO: 2700/61

PRESS COVERAGE ON EUROMISSILES

AU291151 [Editorial Report] SCINTEIA on 26 November publishes on page 6 a series of short AGERPRES reports (also carried in ROMANIA LIBERA of the same date) of reactions to the break up of the US-USSR Geneva negotiations. The reports range from 50 to 150 words each. The following heads of state or political bodies are quoted:

--FRG Chancellor Kohl is quoted as saying that the beginning of the deployment of U.S. missiles should not mean the end of negotiations. "We hope that the Soviet Union will not block the way to a negotiated solution in the problem of Euromissiles."

--Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans "expressed profound regret in connection with the fact that "Soviet responsible factors decided to leave the Geneva negotiations. I still hope that this unilateral suspension is only temporary."

--Greek Premier Papandreou suggested the convention of a East-West conference of the type of the Madrid meeting, now that the Geneva negotiations have broken up.

--French President Mitterrand warned against the danger of leaving Europe's protection up to "a country outside the continent, because we will then be at the mercy of its fancy."

--The Socialist International urged both superpowers to return to the negotiations; one of the socialist deputies in the West European Parliament said about the Western deployment countries that they are now "postponing making the missiles operational so as to leave time to seek an argument."

--British Labor leader Kinnock is the only one in this series of reports cited directly indicating U.S. blame as well as for the Geneva breakup, saying that "both the USSR and the United States are responsible for the breakup of the negotiations."

--The Spanish Government considers the USSR decision to withdraw from the negotiations as "worrying" and hoped that the decision is temporary.

--Indira Gandhi urged the Commonwealth conference in Delhi to appeal to both powers to resume the negotiations.

The only communist countries cited by SCINTEIA on the subject are Yugoslavia, where a Foreign Secretariat spokesman warned that "the breakup of the U.S.-USSR negotiations on Euromissiles seriously affects efforts to halt the arms race," and the CSSR, where the CPCZ Central Committee plenum adopted a decision condemning the deployment of the U.S. missiles and stating that in view of that, the CSSR and the USSR jointly agreed to commence preparations for deployment of Soviet missiles, while still hoping that the present dangerous situation will be overcome.

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 27 carries on page 7 similar reactions to the suspension of the Geneva negotiations, of similar length, totaling 1,200 words.

Of the Western sources cited, the Netherlands Government, Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand at their Bonn talks, the Finnish president, the Japanese premier, the Italian foreign minister, the Canadian foreign minister, Italian trade unions, the Swedish foreign minister, and the British Labor leader Kinnock all expressed regret for the suspension of the Geneva negotiations and urged that they be resumed. They do not explicitly blame either Washington or Moscow. PCI Secretary Berlinguer called for a halt in the deployment of U.S. missiles and for the scrapping of "part of the Soviet SS-20 missiles." In the same vein, the Netherlands Communist Party leader warned against the deployment of any new missiles, on either side. All these reports are attributed to AGERPRES, which in some cases cite AP, UPI, AFP, and ANSA.

The only communist sources cited are a declaration of the Bulgarian Government condemning the deployment of U.S. missiles and fully endorsing Andropov's 24 November statement and the USSR measures, and an SED plenum speech by Erich Honecker, in which, referring to the deployment of Soviet missiles in the GDR, he said: "Naturally, these measures, which have become inevitable in order to prevent the United States from gaining strategic military superiority, give us no cause to rejoice, but they are necessary to ensure peace." He also expressed the view that despite the latest developments "disarmament negotiations will sooner or later yield results and detente will continue."

CSO: 2700/61

SCIENTIFIC SESSION MARKS UNION ANNIVERSARY

AU261920 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Nov (AGERPRES)--A solemn scientific session took place in Bucharest on November 26 on "The Foundation of the Unitary Romanian National State--A Crucial Moment in the Popular Mass Struggle for Freedom and Progress, the Unity and Cohesion of All People Around the Romanian Communist Party and Its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu--A Fundamental Factor of the Building of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society."

The session proceedings were opened by Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The following papers were read out during the session: "The Idea of Unity, Freedom and Independence in the Oeuvre of Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, President of Romania" by Dumitru Popescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, rector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu Academy"; "The Bimillenary Historical Traditions of the Romanian People's Unity" by Mircea Petrescu Dimbovita, director of the "A.D. Xenopol" Institute of History of Iasi; "The Romanian Epos for Freedom and Unity in the Middle Ages," by Stefan Stefanescu, member of the CC of the RCP, director of the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; "The Role of the Broad Mass of People in the Accomplishment of the Historic Act of December 1, 1913" by Ion Clopotel, participant in the Great Assembly in Alba Iulia; "The Romanian People's Struggle for Unity, Freedom and Independence in the Modern Era" by Camil Muresan, dean of the Faculty of History and Philosophy, the Cluj-Napoca University; "The Ideals of the Romanian People's Unity and Freedom on the Struggle of the Party of Working Class in Romania" by Ion Popescu-puturi, member of the CC of the RCP, director of the Institute of Historical and Sociopolitical Studies; "The Struggle for the Building of the Unitary Romanian National State in the Internal and External Circumstances of 1916-1918" by Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, and Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defence, secretary of the Higher Political Council of the army; "The 1913 Union, the Doing of All Romanian People--The Consolidation of the Unitary Romanian National State, a Vital Requirement of the Romanian Society's Development" by Stefan Pascu, alternate member of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Historical Sciences Department of the Romanian Academy; "The Adhesion of the German Nationality in Romania to

the Historical Act of the Great Union" by Eduard Eisenburger, member of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Working People of German Nationality; [word indistinct] The International Reverberation of the Romanian People's Struggle for National Unity and Independence" by Mihnea Gheorghiu, member of the CC of the RCP, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences; "The Unity of the Working People Irrespective of Nationality--The Foundation of Development of the Worker, Revolutionary Democracy of Our Socialist State," by Mihai Ghere, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Working People of Magyar Nationality; "The Unity and Cohesion of All People Around the Party, Around Its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, a Fundamental Factor of the Building of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society in Our Homeland," by Ion Ursu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the LCC of the RCP, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

The speakers pointed out the creative contribution made by President Nicolae Ceausescu to substantiating the Romanian historical science, to a realistic scientific analysis of the problems related to the past of the Romanian people and to working out new conclusions of exceptional value for the researches in the field, for the spreading and valuation of the national and world history. In the context singled out was the value of his thesis regarding the intensification of the activity carried on for working out the unitary history of the Romanian people in the spirit of the conception of the dialectical and historic materialism, the creative way in which President Nicolae Ceausescu approaches the essential events in the country's history, the way he characterized various stages of Romania's economic and social development.

The papers presented during the session in light of scientific truth have singled out the social, political and historic significance of the great 1913 union that marked the crowning of the century-old struggle for and aspirations of all the Romanians after a unitary, independent and sovereign state, after building freely their own future. A revolutionary historical act of deep-going national justice, the union was the law-like and objective effect of the development of the Romanian nation, of the struggle for her inalienable rights, of the impetuous process of the nations' assertion in the modern and contemporary times in the world history.

The speakers have paid a warm homage of gratitude to the forerunners who in centuries have sacrificed their lives to safeguarding the national being, the language and advanced traditions of the Romanian people, for the independence and unity of the country and of all the progressive and democratic forces, of the wide masses of people, the builders of history, who set up the Romanian unitary national state, have promoted in centuries and millenniums the flame of the unity of the [word indistinct], of the sacred right to the old land, the ardent patriotism and boundless love for national and social freedom.

The heavy, long historical road traversed by the Romanian people was strongly marked by the never ending struggle fought for lastingness and assertion, at adverse times related to the migration of certain peoples, the expansion and domination of great empires, that hindered and delayed the development of the productive forces, the economic and social progress and its political and statal organization. Yet, all these circumstances could not stifle the Romanian

people's awareness of the self, the preservation of its ethnic and national specific features, the formation of the nation and the gaining of the state independence, the impetus of the struggle for unity, freedom and independence.

The papers highlighted the historic proofs and traditions--proved by material and spiritual sources acknowledged by all the well-wishing politicians, men of culture and science from everywhere--of the continuity and unity of the Romanian people, the saga of its heroic battles for freedom, unity and independence illustrated by great leaders of states and armies, climaxing with Michael the Brave--who made the great 1660 political union--the revolutions of 1734, 1821 and 1843. A special place was given to pointing out the roll played by peasantry that for centuries were the promoters of the noble ideals of freedom and independence, the class that bore the brunt of battles and made huge sacrifices to preserve intact the national being.

A legitimate continuator of the ideals and struggle of the people in the midst of whom it took shape, was the working class in Romania, headed by its revolutionary party, since the beginning of the assertion of the working class movement has been one and the same with the national targets of the people, making an outstanding contribution to the formation of and to safeguarding the unitary national state and taking to a superior stage, during the years of the socialist revolution and construction, the implementation of the social desiderata the masses of people would indissolubly link to the implementation of the unitary national framework.

During the session there were brought forth the values and significance of the ardent revolutionary patriotism of the Romanian Communist Party, of the working class, of peasantry and intelligentsia that sum in a unitary whole the respect and valuation of the patriotic work of the previous progressive forces, the resolve to preserve it untouched and promote it further, impressing on it a new superior social and spiritual content, under the construction of the multi-laterally developed socialist society.

There was brought to light the just character of the Marxist-Leninist policy promoted by the RCP in solving the national question, the joint struggle waged in centuries by the working people of Romanian and other nationality against oppression and exploitation, for implementation of the 1913 union, strengthening of the unity and fraternity of all the sons of the joint country, the participation of all the forces in implementation of the party's programme, the materialization of the resolution of the 12th congress and of the national conference of the Romanian Communist Party.

The proceedings of the session brought forth the preoccupation and efforts made by the RCP, the Romanian state, the entire people for a continuous development of the productive forces, science and culture, improvement of the social relations, development of a complex and original organizational framework for effective and efficient participation of citizens in the management of the country, of the entire economic and social activity. The speakers highlighted the great successes of the Romanian people, under the leadership of the RCP,

in the years following the ninth congress of the party, when the nation has been led by Nicolae Ceausescu, an ardent patriot, outstanding party and state leader, an important personality of the contemporary world, and mentioned that this epoch of most fruitful achievements in the history of the homeland goes down as a glorious moment in the heroic biography of the Romanian people.

At the same time the speakers highlighted with patriotic pride the fact that the great achievements of the Romanian people in all the fields, as well as its firm policy safeguarding peace, the national unity, independence and sovereignty make people everywhere speak respectfully and with high valuation about Socialist Romania.

The session participants addressed a telegram to the CC of the RCP, to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania.

CSO: 2020/37

MEETING STRESSES SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIANS

AU292046 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 29 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Nov (AGERPRES)--A meeting took place in Bucharest on Tuesday, November 29, marking the "International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People."

Professor Nicolae Calinoiu, member of the Executive Bureau of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, showed in his address that the negative developments in the Middle East clearly proved that the only way conducive to a settlement of the issues in that region was the way of a political solution, of dialogue and direct negotiations.

Reasserting Romania's stance, according to which sustained efforts should be further made for the convening of an international conference, within and under the UN aegis, with the participation of all the countries and sides concerned, the PLO included--as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people--as well as of the USSR and the USA and other states that could make a positive contribution to the settlement of the Middle East conflict, the speaker underscored the need for the undelayed and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the Lebanese territory, the achievement of a broad reconciliation between the political forces in that country, the ensurance of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity.

The conviction was expressed that the dissensions occurred within the "Al-Fatah" movement and of the Palestinian movement in general would be overcome in the shortest possible time through sustained efforts.

He showed that the RCP, Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu personally were carrying on an intense activity in favour of the Palestinian people's just cause, granting it full political, diplomatic, moral and material support.

Raymond F. Rabenold, resident coordinator of the UN operational system for development in Romania took the floor highlighting the UN efforts for establishing the so much needed peace in the Middle East.

In conclusion, the speaker referred to the substantial and vigorous contributions Romania and her president make at the United Nations on every occasion in its efforts to find an equitable solution to the Palestinian question and establish peace in that region.

Khalid al-Shaykh, permanent representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Bucharest, also took the floor and expressed, on behalf of the PLO and of Yasir 'Arafat, of the Palestinian people deep gratitude to the friendly Romanian people, to the RCP and the Government of Romania, to President Nicolae Ceausescu for the firm support granted to the Palestinian people's fight, Romania's clear stance of continuous support to the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. He welcomed the relations of strong solidarity and close friendship between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples, relations whose lasting bases were laid by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Chairman Yasir 'Arafat.

CSO: 2020/37

BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO GUINEA--Conakry, 23 Nov (AGERPRES)--An exchange of messages of friendship between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu and Ahmed Sekou Toure, secretary general of the Parti Democratique de Guinee, president of the Popular and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, and Andree Toure, was occasioned by the call paid on Guinea's leader by a delegation of the Romanian Communist Party, headed by Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, that participated in the 12th congress of the Parti Democratique de Guinee. During the interview that passed in a cordial atmosphere, the sides approached aspects of the Romanian-Guinean relations and expressed the joint wish to amplify the collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, to mutual interest, to that of the cause of peace, national independence and progress throughout the world. [Text] [AU232004 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 23 Nov 83]

B'NAI B'RITH OFFICIAL--Bucharest, 24 Nov (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on November 24 Jack Spitzer, president of the "B'nai B'rith" International Jewish Organization. The interview was attended by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs. Joseph Domberger, president of the European branch of the "B'nae B'rith" organization, was present. The interview proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU241945 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 24 Nov 83]

ECOLOGICAL MEDAL AWARDED--Rome, 23 Nov (AGERPRESS)--In a ceremony held in Bari, under the high patronage of the president of Italy, the Romanian Government was awarded the gold medal for ecology for 1983. Taking the floor on the occasion, the president of the jury, Matteo Matteotti, said: "We award this distinction on the Romanian Government for the efforts and activity the friendly Romanian nation has been deploying for the preservation of the natural patrimony, characterized by the existence of wonderful parks and of the matchless ecologic reality of the Danube Delta. A thorough programme of initiatives, relying on proper laws for the patronage and capitalization of nature, pursues the education of the population and of tourists in the spirit of protecting and rationally using the environment. "All this makes of Romania a vanguard country in this domain, in the spirit of the directives set by President Nicolae Ceausescu meant to guarantee the quality of the environment as a political and social asset." [Text] [AU232006 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1647 GMT 23 Nov 83]

SEFCET JASARI DISCUSSES KOSOVO PROBLEMS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 83 pp 8-12

[Interview with Sefcet Jasari, chairman of the Presidency of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, by Miodrag Jovanovic: "Mobility of the Population Is an Integral Part of Freedom"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] From March 1981 to June 1983 13,628 Serbs and Montenegrins moved out of Kosovo. Why did those people leave?

[Answer] It is true that about 13,600 Serbs and Montenegrins did move out in that period. This fact is disturbing all honest people in Kosovo, regardless of what nationality they belong to, it is also of concern to the Albanian nationality in Kosovo, which sees its future only in a sense of community, in equality, brotherhood and unity with all the nationalities and ethnic minorities of this region, of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia and of our country as a whole.

For 2.5 years now the organized socialist forces of our province, sociopolitical organizations, self-management structures, government agencies and judicial bodies have been conducting intensive activity in order to stabilize the political security situation in the province and thereby to prevent the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, to create conditions for full equality and spirit of community of the members of all nationalities and ethnic minorities, and for the return to Kosovo of all those who want to come back. This task is one of the priority tasks and is at the center of our entire sociopolitical activity and is more and more becoming a preoccupation of all individuals, working people and youth.

[Question] What specifically is being done in that direction?

[Answer] Major constructive changes have been made in the minds of the working people and citizens and youth in the domain of interethnic relations, which are far better than in 1981 after the counterrevolutionary events, and indeed somewhat earlier, since the year 1981 represented a certain escalation of trends in the sphere of interethnic relations which had already been unfavorable before that. However, although a much more favorable political climate has been created, it is a fact that the Serbs and Montenegrins are continuing to move out, although at a slower rate.

[Question] The key question is why the people are continuing to leave?

[Answer] I cannot say anything new except what has already been said several times in our analyses and assessments of the causes of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Mobility of the population is not some specific feature which applies only to the Province of Kosovo. It is an integral part of the freedom enjoyed by the citizens of our country. People have moved out of Kosovo for economic and social reasons, because the organs of the LC did not show sufficient sensitiveness or responsiveness, especially a portion of the leadership up to 1981, and recently, since 1981, because of the severity of the conditions that have come about, because of the atmosphere created following the counterrevolutionary events, because of various forms of direct or indirect pressure by nationalists belonging to the Albanian nationality, and indeed also because of the tolerant attitude shown toward those manifestations, because of the ineffectiveness of administrative agencies, judicial authorities and law enforcement agencies, etc. However, I would add that one-sided articles on the situation of Kosovo published over the last 2 years in certain papers and magazines have also had an adverse effect on stopping the Serbs and Montenegrins from moving out, nor did your own newspaper refrain from this.

[Question] Are those the only reasons why the exodus is not ceasing?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Albanian nationalism is and remains one of the principal causes of the pressure, of disruption of the atmosphere in interethnic relations, of the deterioration of the social climate, and indeed of the exodus. That is why we have set forth our tasks in suppressing and eradicating it.

However, in addition to Albanian irredentism and nationalism, Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism and chauvinism are also doing us a bad turn, they do not like the process of political and economic stabilization, and by spreading distrust and a lack of confidence they are having a negative effect with respect to slowing down the process of the exodus from Kosovo.

Nationalists from the ranks of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities are contributing in their own way to the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. This process is also being encouraged to a considerable extent by the clergy, especially outside the province. There is encouragement from certain quarters outside Kosovo for trained personnel, especially specialists, to leave; they are then received with open arms and granted more favorable conditions. Thanks to this "aid," we have been losing our physicians, engineers, university professors, doctors of science, highly skilled workers, and technicians in various fields, in whose schooling the working class invested a great deal.

One of the very important causes of the exodus is also Kosovo's slow development, which is bringing about an increase in the number of unemployed, of those who cannot find a job here, so that they are forced to seek one outside the province. It is a fact that on the average there are 42 applicants for every job, which is 3.5-fold more than the national average and shows clearly

that there is more limited room for life and work, and the prospects at the moment are not as good as in other regions in our country.

There is no great difference, then, between those who use pressure and those who create an unfavorable climate and encourage people to leave and to move out of Kosovo. Those two extremes have to be curbed if the movement of the working people is to be brought into normal and natural limits.

Party members and trained personnel in the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities who are moving out bear a great responsibility, since in essence they are thereby abandoning the front of the common struggle. At the same time, their departure is weakening our forces in the struggle against the class enemy, and this is a hard blow to working people of all nationalities. They should therefore have more confidence in the system of self-management. The times demand that everyone, especially those who are seeking a way out by moving away instead of waging a concrete struggle, becomes actively involved in stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. The problem of unemployment is imposing the need to seek employment outside Kosovo both on Albanians, as well as on Serbs and Montenegrins and others. Unfortunately, they are also being treated as having moved out. Conditions for their permanent employment in Kosovo will be created through more rapid development.

We are not renouncing those who were born, have lived and worked in Kosovo and who are now in other regions of the country or abroad, regardless of what their reasons were in leaving our province.

[Question] For a long time now we have waited for the news to begin to come from Kosovo that people are living in harmony, in their work and with community spirit, regardless of what nationality they belong to. This is the desire of every honest citizen of this country. We are hearing little about what is happening to them, we would even say "too little." We therefore ask: What is the Albanian in Kosovo doing and what does he face, for whom community, brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, as it is put in political language, and work and progress, in short, for whom socialist Kosovo holds first place--both in his heart and in his deeds?

[Answer] One gets the impression that people are not sufficiently familiar with Kosovo reality. The "news" about Kosovo not uncommonly places the reader outside the province in the position of a passive consumer. And naturally if that news is one-sided, he gets a distorted idea of Kosovo, and he does not know enough about the persistent struggle of the subjective forces to stabilize the situation. The members of our nationalities and ethnic minorities are aware of the great strength of community. It is precisely through that community that the good results are always achieved. Today they are united in a common struggle to achieve the new relations set forth in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, but they are also united against Albanian nationalism and irredentism as the class enemy.

None of this suits the interests and aspirations of the domestic and foreign enemies of our independent and nonaligned countries, who have often attempted in various ways to impede our internal development, to break up our unity by

disseminating ethnic enmity. The counterrevolutionary events in 1981 are also a part of those attempts. Taking advantage of our momentary weakness and lack of vigilance, the enemies operating from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism acted to chill interethnic relations in certain people.

[Question] Confidence has obviously been shaken. What is being done to restore it?

[Answer] Along with the uncompromising struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and other nationalisms and those who embody them, activity has been developed to strengthen interethnic relations and confidence and community on the foundations of full ethnic equality, as a precondition for complete stabilization of the condition in Kosovo. We have achieved definite results in this sphere of activity.

The enormous majority of Albanians in Kosovo, as always, are even now aware that they cannot achieve their development and prosperity through nationalism and irredentism, through hatred and fratricidal struggle against the other nationalities and ethnic minorities, as has been preached and urged by the Great Albanian nationalists and irredentists, within and outside our country. On the contrary, they can achieve their progress only in strong unity and community with all the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Kosovo, of SR Serbia and of our entire country.

There are a great many of those Albanians who are taking up the struggle against the ideology of nationalism and irredentism, who are detecting and reporting the members of hostile organizations, the violators of Orthodox cemeteries, those who are inflicting damage on the property of the Serbs and Montenegrins. There are numerous examples of the common effort of both the old and young in the fields, in associated labor, in the actions carried out by villages and local communities, and in athletic, cultural and art societies. Still greater emphasis will be put on these developments in the future.

[Question] At the end of August you were in Urosevac. A reporter recorded that on that occasion you spoke about the Serbs and Montenegrins moving out of Kosovo as follows: "There will be movement, but we must prevent every departure that occurs because of our overall political situation." Comrade Jasari, what is being done in Kosovo at the moment to prevent Serbs and Montenegrins from moving out of the province?

[Answer] We have to wage this fight in the right place and at the right moment--which means in the local community and in the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor].

The Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, assessing the activity of the LC in implementing the political platform concerning Kosovo and the action program of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, devoted particular attention to the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins. Aside from the assessment that important results have been achieved in stabilizing the political security situation and in preventing the exodus, note was taken that there is no room

for self-satisfaction. Increasingly favorable conditions for the free and safe life and work of members of all nationalities and ethnic minorities in Kosovo will be guaranteed through the organized activity of the sociopolitical organizations and self-management structures, through the greater effectiveness and responsiveness of government administrative agencies and judicial bodies in consistent enforcement of constitutionality and legality. This will frustrate and minimize the possibilities of violation of the constitutional and other rights of freedom, of law and order and of the peace of the working people and citizens of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the province.

Even though remnants of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, resorting to various illegal forms, are still trying through their perfidious activity, though on a much smaller scale, to instill a sense of insecurity in Serbs and Montenegrins and others in Kosovo [sic]. However, vigorous ideological-political and legal measures are being taken against individuals who provoke various incidents such as violation of law and order and breaches of the peace, interethnic conflicts, damage of various kinds in fields and forests, and the desecration of graves.

There have also been examples of strict boycotts and isolation not only of offenders, but also of their families. People even refuse to attend their weddings and their funerals. There have been such examples, and little is being written about them, although they are gratifying in a constructive sense.

[Question] There has also been talk about irregularities concerning hiring.

[Answer] We devote particular attention to hiring, especially to achievement of ethnic equality in this sphere, since this is a serious problem which has very great economic, social and political importance to us. There is no doubt that there have been results, but the problems are still very complicated. According to the official figures: Albanians comprise 77.4 percent of the population, but 67.2 percent of the employed labor force, while Serbs represent 13.2 percent of the population and 23.6 percent of the employed labor force, and Montenegrins represent 1.7 percent of the population, and 3.7 percent of the employed labor force. However, in certain work organizations efforts should be made so that the principles of the equality of languages and mandatory honoring of bilingualism are applied where this is really indispensable. That is why this needs to be regulated in normative terms so that every attempt at abuse is doomed in advance. In certain communities individuals have exerted an influence on the norms either out of material interest or because of nationalistic bias.

[Question] Albanian nationalism and irredentism made their deepest inroads in the sphere of education. What has been done there?

[Answer] The indoctrinated teachers and university and school students have been expelled. Our commitments are clear. We must continue to strengthen sociopolitical activity and further differentiation in this sphere, since unless the situation is made altogether healthy in the field of education, it

is unrealistic to expect full stabilization of the situation in the schools, at the university and more broadly. I believe that we must devote more attention to young people as a whole, especially to their ideological-political upbringing in the spirit of socialist self-management, equality, brotherhood and unity, and community.

As for the exercise of ethnic rights in the field of education, we have committed ourselves to creating conditions, regardless of material difficulties, to make it possible for all members of nationalities and ethnic minorities to receive instruction in their native tongue at all levels of education. For example, in just 4 opstinas (out of a total of 22 which Kosovo has) there are 59 classes in Serbo-Croatian in which instruction is furnished for 1-10 pupils. At the university 31 of the 37 groups receiving instruction in Serbo-Croatian have fewer students than envisaged by law. Until recently 131 instructors of Albanian nationality were teaching students of various groups in Serbo-Croatian, but they have now been replaced by 92 teachers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, while 65 teachers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality are teaching in Serbo-Croatian students receiving instruction in the Albanian language. Pristina University has lost 23 teachers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, and it has gained 43.

We are devoting particular attention to guaranteeing equal representation of personnel of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Kosovo in the teaching and scientific process as well as in other aspects of work in the social services, and to uniform development of creativity in the field of science and culture. This does not mean that we do not have various problems in these fields from time to time, departures from the policies set forth by the LC, problems whose resolution requires the rapid, effective and prompt intervention of the subjective forces, headed by the League of Communists.

[Question] In the first 6 months of this year, according to published figures, 76 physical attacks on Serbs and Croats were reported in Kosovo, 13 gravestones in Orthodox cemeteries were desecrated, 2,000 hostile slogans were written, 684 written pamphlets of irredentist content were confiscated, there were the same number of cases of sabotage, 1 commando operation was recorded, and there were 58 attacks on the police and other security officers. Again the Serbs and Montenegrins leaving Kosovo say without exception in the official reports that they are making the move for family and economic reasons. The public believes that they are keeping quiet about a great deal. How do you explain the contradiction between what those moving out say and the unpleasant facts in the actual reality?

[Answer] In our activity to date to prevent Serbs and Montenegrins from moving out we have put particular emphasis on preventing people from moving out in general, but especially moves taking place under any sort of pressure. I think that we have achieved considerable results in that direction.

According to the figures which the competent authorities possess, in the first 6 months of this year there were 4,884 crimes recorded and processed in Kosovo, 49 of them, or 1.0 percent, consequences of interethnic conflicts, since they had to do with conflicts between persons of Serbian and Montenegrin

nationality on the one hand and persons of Albanian nationality on the other. Of those 49 crimes, in 42 the victims were of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, and in 7 the victim was of Albanian nationality. Between March 1981 and August 1983 there were 139 homicides involving Albanians and 2 murders of persons of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality by persons of Albanian nationality.

During that period 182 misdemeanors pertaining to interethnic conflicts were recorded. Of the total number of offenses, persons of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality were the victims in 24, while in 58 the victim was a person of Albanian nationality. In the first 6 months 1,529 slogans were written, 79 persons were detected who had written and disseminated slogans, 542 pamphlets of irredentist content and 24 leaflets were captured, 21 breakdowns and other damage were recorded, 3 explosions, 5 cases of sabotage and 240 attacks on officials. The essential thing is not that our figures do not coincide, the essential thing is that these cases show us that the enemy is still active and that in future we must fight him steadily and resolutely.

In presenting these figures I do not want to justify, much less tolerate, these crimes, but I would say that it is not possible to eliminate conflicts entirely in everyday work and life. People of different nationalities, although sometimes they have reasons, avoid conflicts. In so doing their point of departure is the inherited interethnic tradition and tolerance, as well as the awareness that nothing whatsoever should be done to upset interethnic relations. All sociopolitical organizations, self-management structures, judicial bodies and law enforcement agencies are carrying on intensified activity in this direction.

So that we might be more effective in solving problems in this area we have built up a system of information concerning all cases, a system of analytical monitoring of conflicts, and effectiveness against those who commit crimes and misdemeanors has also been improved. I would like to emphasize that we are more and more effective in combating crime and those who disrupt peace and order and commit breaches of the peace. These activities have operated to a great extent toward improvement of the overall security situation and the personal and property security of individuals.

You say that the official reports state that Serbs and Montenegrins are moving out because of family and economic reasons, but that the public thinks that they are keeping silent about a great deal. I do not preclude that possibility, but I think that that is not the general pattern. Just as it is dishonest to be silent about the real reasons for moving out, it is also dishonest for those who have moved out in pursuit of certain personal interests to speak untruthfully about the situation and relations in the province. They are misinforming the community in this way and creating an anti-Albanian disposition. These individuals are not helping our struggle to stabilize the situation. On the contrary, in so doing they are hindering the progressive forces in performing the tasks which have been set. A member of the party is deemed to be progressive and revolutionary insofar as in every community he combats nationalism, chauvinism, hegemonism, and antisocialist and antiself-management manifestations.

[Question] A difficult daily life in Kosovo, this is impressively demonstrated by the facts, is being imposed on the progressive socialist forces above all by the practical and direct activity of life itself. Are people managing to be strong and convincing enough in using other means? For example, are they managing to explain to the people the causes of the situation in Kosovo, the dangerous consequences for everyone if that situation should continue, and the goals of the struggle against such conditions?

[Answer] I would not agree with the first part of the question. In spite of the problems and difficulties which we are combating, everyday life in Kosovo has visibly improved, and it is more and more becoming a normal everyday life. This is undoubtedly the result of the intensified work and activity of the socialist forces of Kosovo, which are supported by the progressive forces of SR Serbia and of our entire country. It is well known that the shortcomings and weaknesses before the counterrevolutionary events, and especially during those events, did shake mutual trust and did weaken brotherhood and unity which had been built up over many years. They left adverse consequences in interethnic relations, but now the situation concerning those relations is more favorable and qualitatively new.

Interethnic relations in a multinational community like Kosovo are the principal barometer of the political situation and of security. Taking into account all the seriousness and sociopolitical dimension of these issues, Kosovo's progressive socialist forces have set themselves the task of carrying on strong, convincing and continuous activity among people, to continue to interpret to them the heart and reactionary goal of the activity of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists and of all other nationalists. It is understandable and normal that the principal burden and responsibility have fallen on party members and progressive forces from the ranks of the Albanian nationality. Party members from the ranks of other nationalities have likewise borne their share of the burden.

Thanks to our activity the broad masses have become aware of the danger represented by the aspiration of the counterrevolutionary forces for an ethnically pure Kosovo, by the domination of the majority, and Albanians constitute the majority in the province. We have taken note that this thesis is very dangerous, for the Albanian nationality itself above all, and is thereby both very reactionary and also anticommunist. We have managed to develop an awareness in the broad masses that the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism cannot be waged from positions of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism, but rather the other way around. Of course, wherever an uncompromising struggle has been waged against nationalism, on all fronts and in all quarters, there have been and there are results.

[Question] There are different forms of the struggle to normalize life in Kosovo. We read more and more often that certain people have left Kosovo and are then returning to their old community to work and live. This is pleasant news.

[Answer] A more favorable sociopolitical climate has been created in Kosovo, and the political security situation is visibly improving. This situation

awakens and heightens an interest in returning to Kosovo on the part of those who previously moved out. This is at the same time an indicator that confidence is being restored in the working people and citizens that the conditions are more and more being created in the province for free, equal and unhindered life for members of all nationalities. Aside from the political climate, one of the preconditions for return of those who have moved out is more rapid development of SAP Kosovo, which figures as the limiting factor. Maximum efforts need to be made for the return and hiring and to solve the living needs of all those returning as well as those of other citizens in the province.

According to recent figures, 35 families have returned to Kosovo this year with 83 members, along with 191 individuals, so that in all 333 persons of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have returned [sic]. Most numerous among them are those who moved away in earlier years, and there are fewer of those who have come to Kosovo because of an official transfer. We are gratified by the fact that the number of those who want to return is increasing every day. The results in this direction, though they are initial, should encourage still greater activity. This also presupposes eliminating all forms of hostile activity, although the Irredenta is attempting to maintain its continuity, to perpetuate the tense situation, or is manifesting itself in perfidious forms and methods of activity.

During this June and July, according to our figures, 1,534 citizens left Kosovo for other parts of the country. The ethnic composition of those who reported their departure is as follows: 716 Serbs, 402 Albanians, 129 Montenegrins and 287 others. It follows from this that it is not just the Serbs and Montenegrins who are moving out, but also people of other nationalities. It is indicative that these emigres have registered their arrival in all parts of the country: 890 in Serbia proper, 237 in Croatia, and so on. During those 2 months 354 persons came to Kosovo from other parts of the country (148 Albanians, 104 Serbs, 18 Montenegrins and 84 others). Most of them (186) came from Serbia proper, and then 48 from Macedonia.... The number itself and then the geographic and ethnic pattern of these individuals are very indicative. Among other things they indicate that Kosovo is open and that people are regaining confidence.

This is the aim of the activity not only to prevent the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins, but also to create conditions for the return and arrival in Kosovo of all those who want to work, and create together with the nationalities and ethnic minorities of this region.

[Question] Kosovo's difficulties, we have realized through these serious trials, are also the difficulties of Yugoslavia. Kosovo cannot resolve those troubles alone, to be frank. Here is just one example. There are 190,000 people working in Kosovo, but 80,000 inhabitants of the province are waiting for a job, according to official statistics. Those who are working, even if they make the greatest efforts, cannot guarantee jobs to their unemployed comrades. This leads to a whole series of difficulties whose correction requires the aid of the entire community. Comrade Jasari, what does Kosovo lack now which is indispensable to it so that it can emerge from the present situation?

[Answer] A fight is being waged in our province to achieve more dynamic overall economic development and above all more intensive development of industry and agriculture, to strengthen the export capability of the economy and to increase employment, and in addition it is, of course, necessary to further strengthen and improve the relations of socialist self-management.

This activity is aimed at economic and political stabilization. Since this struggle is being waged under very difficult conditions, when we have numerous problems inherited from last year and previous years, above all the unfavorable economic structure, underutilization of capacity, outdated equipment in certain facilities, difficulties in the supply of raw materials and production supplies, the high level of indebtedness and hindered commodity trade, along with the well-known problem of unemployment, it is evident that enormous efforts, strivings and sacrifices are necessary to achieve these goals.

Our orientation is toward utilizing every potential that makes it possible to hire the able-bodied population through development of small business, agriculture and food production, the food being needed on the domestic and foreign market, and especially through pooling labor and capital with OOUR's from all over the country, and also with respect to finding additional and other sources of financing for Kosovo's more rapid development.

Thanks to the measures which we are undertaking in an organized way we expect that by 1985 we will be able to employ about 58,000 workers. However, in view of the annual growth of the population of working age, the number of persons who will be seeking jobs at the end of 1985 will reach the figure of about 90,000, assuming, of course, that new opportunities are not found for mitigating this most acute problem which the province has.

We are placing great hopes on the pooling of labor and capital with organizations of associated labor in the province itself, but also with organizations from SR Serbia and other parts of the country. This process is crucial to overcoming more successfully the economy's underdevelopment and its unfavorable structure, to solving the problems of creating new jobs and other social and economic problems, to more rapid development of self-management, brotherhood and unity, and equality and community of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. After all, we will not be able to solve such major problems without mobilizing our own forces, just as we cannot do it without the help of the entire broader community.

Specific results in this field have already been manifested in the 39 programs adopted for pooling labor and capital with OOUR's from the entire country. Although these results are not yet the kind that we anticipate, it is significant that the processes have begun, that Kosovo's difficulties are seen as Yugoslavia's difficulties.

These facts are the best evidence to oppose the arguments of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists concerning Kosovo's lag, concerning the plundering of the province's natural resources, and concerning Kosovo's colonial position in Yugoslavia. We need to familiarize the broader public more

frequently and concretely concerning our activity in this direction, which we will intensify. We are aware of the fact that we need to rely above all on our own strength. Incidentally, we have based the province's economic development plan for this year primarily on maximum utilization of our own human and physical potential, but also on the solidarity expected from the broader social community.

[Question] Kosovo is in the center of interest of our country's people every day. Nevertheless, there are rare reports, except through forums, concerning events in the province. How do you explain this?

[Answer] It is true that Kosovo has been at the center of interest not only of the domestic public, but also of the world public, especially in the last 2 years. This is understandable, since events themselves have imposed this kind of interest. The enormous majority of the citizens, working people and youth of Kosovo want the situation to be completely stabilized as soon as possible. It is also understandable that every honest citizen of our country wants good news to come from this region. I would not agree that there is little news from Kosovo. The news media have helped the action of the subjective forces through their articles and comments.

The importance and the role of the news media was most evident after the attempt of the counterrevolution in 1981. Through its commitment it has contributed to overcoming the province's encapsulization, which was a consequence of bureaucratization, political primitivism, nepotism and the holding of personal positions to the detriment of society. Thus to a large extent they have informed the Yugoslav and world public objectively about the basic developments in sociopolitical life, about interethnic relations and about all the essential aspects of the political security situation in the province, as well as about efforts and measures which have been undertaken to overcome this situation.

However, in certain news media there have been articles which did not square with our reality. They concerned themselves with a superficial record of the events, especially the adverse events, they portrayed them one-sidedly and in a sensationalistic way, using half-truths and untruths. They thus detracted from the efforts of the LC and the subjective forces. Some of those articles, because of their content and the way they are written, have had a very negative impact on mutual trust, especially in those members of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Kosovo who were not sufficiently informed about the real state of affairs.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize that a number of newsmen and responsible people in editorial offices were at the least not sufficiently prepared and equipped to operate in such a complicated situation as Kosovo represented: there were a great many difficulties, problems and contradictions. On behalf of informing the Yugoslav public realistically and objectively and on behalf of complete stabilization of the situation in Kosovo the news media should in future write more than has been the case up to now about the constructive developments, which are numerous in Kosovo.

7045

CSO: 2800/96

AVNOJ SESSION ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION HELD

Attendees Reported

LD281733 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)--A joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly to mark the 40th anniversary of the second session of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] began with the national anthem in a solemn atmosphere rendered all the more exceptional by the presence of a large number of individuals from the period of our revolution.

The session was opened by Vojo Srzentic, president of the SFRY assembly. This gathering to mark the grand jubilee was attended by the delegates of both chambers; the councillors of the second AVNOJ session; the presidents and members of the Yugoslav state presidency and party presidium; representatives of the organs of the federation; and delegations from the republics and provinces, towns connected with AVNOJ and the Yugoslav People's Army; and representatives of the British, Soviet, and U.S. military missions to the supreme headquarters; and members of the diplomatic corps.

After warmly welcoming all the guests, Vojo Srzentic called on those present to observe a minute's silence to honor Josip Broz Tito--founder of our revolution, leader of the Yugoslav revolution, the revolutionary and statesman--whose work is eternally interwoven in all the achievements of new Yugoslavia.

Respects were then paid to the deceased councillors of the second AVNOJ session.

Vojo Srzentic, president of the Yugoslav assembly, and Mika Spiljak, president of the Yugoslav presidency, then spoke about the significance of the decisions of the second AVNOJ session.

After Mika Spiljak's speech, the solemn session concluded with the solemn song Yugoslavia.

Srzentic Speaks

LD281813 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0705 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)--Forty years have passed since the historic second session of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], one of the most important dates in the most recent history of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, when the foundations of our present community, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, were laid.

AVNOJ, which was formed at the first session in 1942 at Bihac as the central political body, adopted at its second session in 1943 at Jajce decisions legalizing the new democratic revolutionary power--that of the national liberation committees--and constituting AVNOJ into the supreme legislative and executive people's representative body, and decisions on the federal order of the country founded upon the full equality of our nations and nationalities.

At the second AVNOJ session, the first people's state in enslaved Europe was created, and the sole wartime parliament and government were formed in their own country and with their own army--established in the fire of revolution and with the mass participation of people from all the regions of our country--conducted a struggle against the occupiers and against the traitors at home, for the final liberation of the country; the development of a new Yugoslavia, a fraternal community of equal nations and nationalities; and the consolidation of its international situation. Led by the Yugoslav Communist Party, with Comrade Tito at the head, our nations and nationalities wrote in the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution the most glorious pages of their history, through the lives of hundreds and thousands of their best sons and daughters.

The new Yugoslavia developed as a community of equal nations and nationalities in its present stage of socialist and self-managing reality based on the democratic and federal principles that were then proclaimed, and that were and have remained the chief orientation of our revolution--a revolution that bore an all-people's and truly democratic character.

The postwar development of Yugoslav society, from AVNOJ to the delegate system, represented the continuity of the socialist revolution, and the decisions of the second AVNOJ session that predetermined the further development of our socialist community on democratic and federal bases. These decisions, as the expression of the basic democratic and progressive international orientation of the national liberation movement, also established the foundations and principles of our foreign policy. Over the past 4 decades, Yugoslav society has constantly consolidated and developed the foundations and authentic values of its revolution and through its own original solutions in building socialism, it has always blazed new trails of its development. Our society is continuing to do this today, when the development of the system of free associated labor is opening a new chapter in the evolution of our society as a self-managing and democratic socialist society, and when it advocates in the international arena--through its consistent nonaligned policy--equal cooperation with all countries in the spirit of active, peaceful coexistence.

It is at this very solemn moment, when we are celebrating the jubilee birthday of our republic, something that represents Tito's greatest work, that we are obliged to say that built into the foundations of all our achievements and attainments are revolutionary socialist and humane ideas that guided the councillors of the second AVNOJ session and inspired hundreds of thousands of fighters who courageously went into battle for freedom, justice, equality, and brotherhood. It was in this struggle that the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities were forged and established. It is, however, our historic responsibility to develop and strengthen further our community; constantly to promote equality, brotherhood, and unity of the nations and nationalities, republics, and autonomous provinces; to ensure total national affirmation of every nation and nationality; and to strengthen our socialist self-managing community.

CSO: 2800/101

GRACANIN DISCUSSES GLOBAL TECHNOLOGICAL DEPENDENCE

LD281713 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)--To be found acting in Yugoslavia's development policy, conceived until recently on imports of licences, was the intention of the world's centres of power to make Yugoslavia technically and technologically dependent on them. In this way, Yugoslavia's self-managing society would become undermined and destabilised through seemingly correct deals, Col Gen Petar Gracanin, chief of staff of the (?SFRY) People's Army, has said in an interview with VECERNJE NOVOSTI, a Belgrade daily.

The interview dealt with technical and technological development as a component of national defense.

A practice like this is no special of the world's technological policy, but a usual form of treatment of the underdeveloped and developing countries in general and even of the great powers' coalition partners, Gracanin emphasized.

In Yugoslavia's case, the solution lies in reliance on its own brain power and domestic technological solutions, General Gracanin underlined, adding that--until recently--the opinion was widespread in Yugoslavia's national economy that it is cheaper to buy licences than to develop its own scientific research activities.

The Yugoslav Army is now meeting even up to 80 percent of its needs in arms and equipment from domestic production. In the general's opinion, this is the basis of Yugoslavia's defence-making capabilities.

Anyhow, while conceiving such components of Yugoslavia's policies, one should not give up foreign scientific and technological attainments used by now, he pointed out. Materiel to be purchased in the world must be such as to stimulate the use of domestic scientific and technological resources and materiel evaluated as being the most needed one, General Gracanin underlined.

CSO: 2800/101

DELO OPPOSES RADICAL CHANGE IN ASSEMBLY CHAMBER

AU261611 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Nov 83 p 1

[Commentary by Boris Jez: "Topic of the Day: Too Far From the Base"]

[Text] We are really going too far with this driving propensity of ours to constantly continue to change society. Barely 10 years ago, we adopted the (last) Constitution and now, already for some time, demands are being heard that the political system should once again be changed although obviously no one knows why and how. This also applies to the position and role of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly.

That body is mostly reproached for lacking the appropriate delegate base, for the delegates in it acting more as deputies and not as delegates, for the chamber's failing to fulfill its constitutional role, for it even being unnecessary under the existing system, and the like. These criticisms are perhaps partly justified but this does yet imply that now the role of the Federal Chamber should be changed precipitately. Would it not be more appropriate and purposeful first of all to ask why the chamber is not like we had conceived it in the Constitution?

It would be better to more consistently realize the role of delegates of the Federal Chamber than to change the role of the Federal Chamber or to "supplement" it in the SFRY Assembly with a possible Chamber of Associated Labor. The delegates of the Federal Chamber cannot and must not be the bearers and advocates of the views and interests of the republican and provincial executive organs. It is in accordance with its authority that, in creating and adopting decisions, the Federal Chamber must consistently consider the interests of the base. Of course, it must also know how to link them with the interests of the state. It would not be superfluous if the delegates of the Federal Chamber consulted more frequently with those who are most directly affected by these or other decisions of the Federal Chamber. It is only in this manner that it is possible to ensure a greater influence of the working people in Yugoslavia's highest organ of authority.

CSO: 2800/101

SETINC, SMOLE, RAVNIK ATTEND SLOVENE JOURNALISTS' DISCUSSION

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by Janja Klasnic: "Journalists' Discussion on Self-Managing Treatment"]

[Text] Mitja Gorjup commemorative days in Rogaska Slatina.

Journalism under present-day sociopolitical conditions.

Rogaska Slatina, 10 Nov--What is the role of socialist self-managing journalism? To what extent is it able to stimulate self-managing treatment on all levels? To what extent is it a partner in policy or is this policy adequately prepared to open up to the media? These are some of the themes confronting journalism which journalists discussed this afternoon at this year's Mitja Gorjup commemorative days, which began today in Rogaska Slatina.

In the meeting, in which Franc Setinc, Miha Ravnik and Joze Smole also participated, there were discussions not only about the difficulties of journalism per se but also about the present, wider sociopolitical conditions under which the journalists work. A number of difficulties and shortcomings exist. Instead of self-managing solutions, most frequently they all receive administrative measures. When the media attack the targets in this way, they also make a mistake since, for example, the republic papers are more critical of the federation than of the republic, and the opstina papers are more critical of the republic than of their own opstina, Joze Smole said. Miha Ravnik spoke about the deficiencies which are appearing in the ranks of the League of Communists, saying, among other things: People ask us to whom we are speaking since, for the most part, Communists are in the most responsible positions. I maintain that we are speaking, first of all, to those Communists!"

The sources of information are becoming too restricted. While some thought that the accreditation of journalists for covering the work of special political forums is part of the gradual restricting of publicity, France Setinc did not agree with this. He thought that it is better for the journalist who knows the most about the subject which the special political body is discussing to cover that body on a regular basis. He felt that there is too much confidential material and that confidentiality itself loses its value with such a wealth of confidential material.

The meeting will continue tomorrow.

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